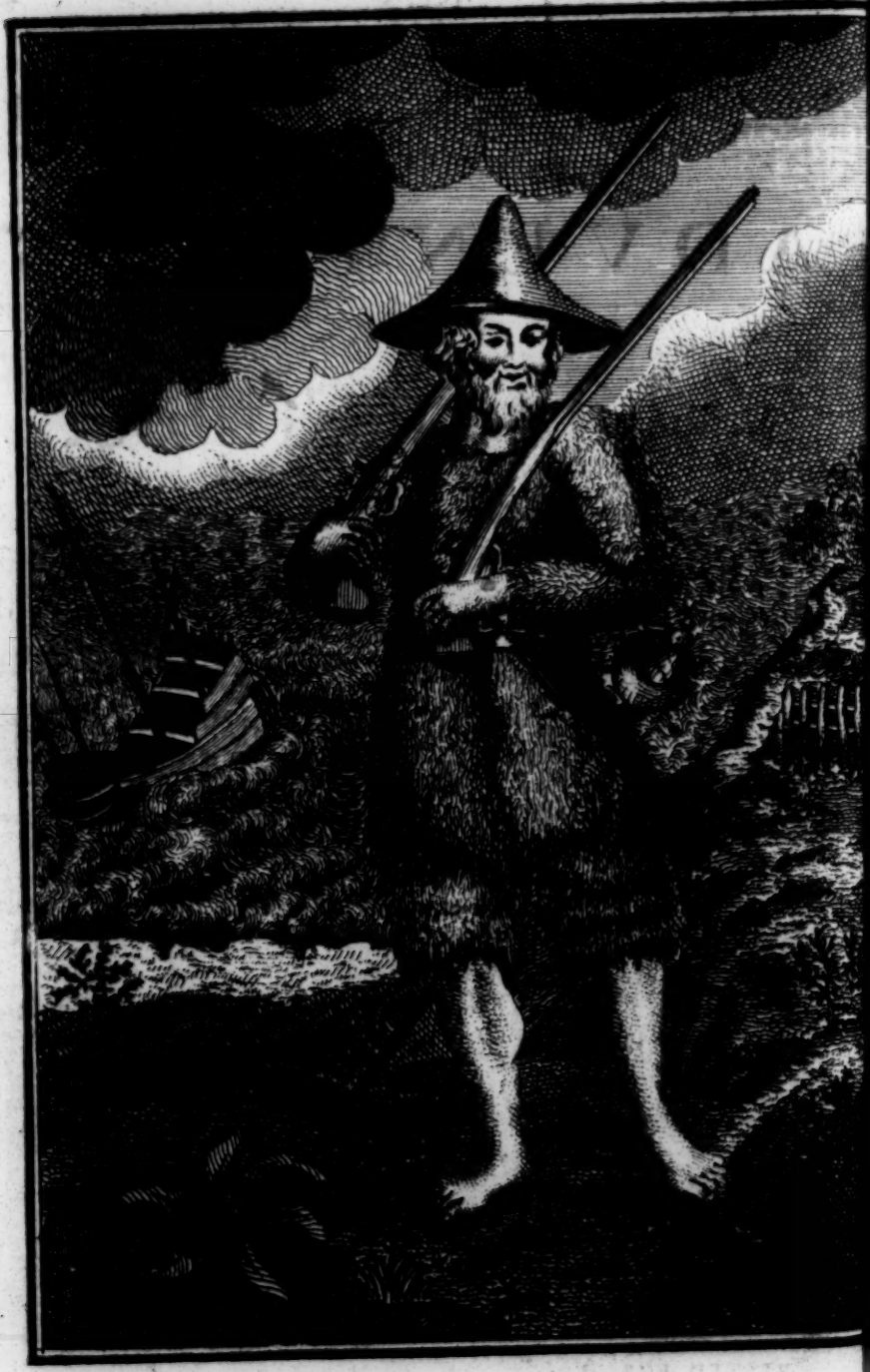


ROBINSON CRUSOE

as describ'd in Page 176.

Milly Miles ...

THE

LIFE

AND MOST SURPRISING

ADVENTURES

OF

Robinſon Cruſoe,

OF YORK, MARINER,

Who lived EIGHT-AND-TWENTY YEARS in an UNINHABITED ISLAND on the coaſt of AMERICA, near the mouth of the great river OROONOQUE.

With an ACCOUNT of

His DELIVERANCE thence, and his after SURPRISING ADVENTURES.

A NEW EDITION, COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.

ENRICHED WITH ELEGANT PLATES, DESCRIPTIVE OF THE SUBJECT.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

IF ever the ſtory of any private man's adventures in the world were worth making public, and were acceptable when publiſhed, the editor of this account thinks this will be ſo.

The wonders of this man's life exceed all that (he thinks) is to be found extant; the life of one man being ſcarce capable of a greater variety.

The ſtory is told with modeſty, with ſerioufneſs, and with a religious application of events to the uſes to which wiſe men always apply them, *viz.* to the inſtruction of others by this example, and to juſtify and honour the wiſdom of Providence in all the variety of our circumſtances, let them happen how they will.

The editor believes this narrative to be a juſt hiſtory of fact; neither is there any appearance of fiction in it: and though he is well aware there are many, who on account of the very ſingular preſervations the author met with, will give it the name of a romance; yet in which ever of theſe lights it ſhall be viewed, he imagines, that the improvement of it, as well as the diverſion, as to the inſtruction of the reader, will be the ſame; and as ſuch, he thinks, without farther compliment to the world, he does them a great ſervice in the publication.

THE
LIFE AND ADVENTURES
OF
ROBINSON CRUSOE.

I Was born at York, in the year 1632, of a reputable family. My father was a native of Bremen, who by merchandizing at Hull for ſome time, gained a very plentiful fortune. He married my mother at York, who received her firſt breath in that country: and as her maiden name was Robinſon, I was called *Robinſon Kreutznaer*: which not being eaſily pronounced in the Engliſh tongue, we are commonly known by the name of Cruſoe.

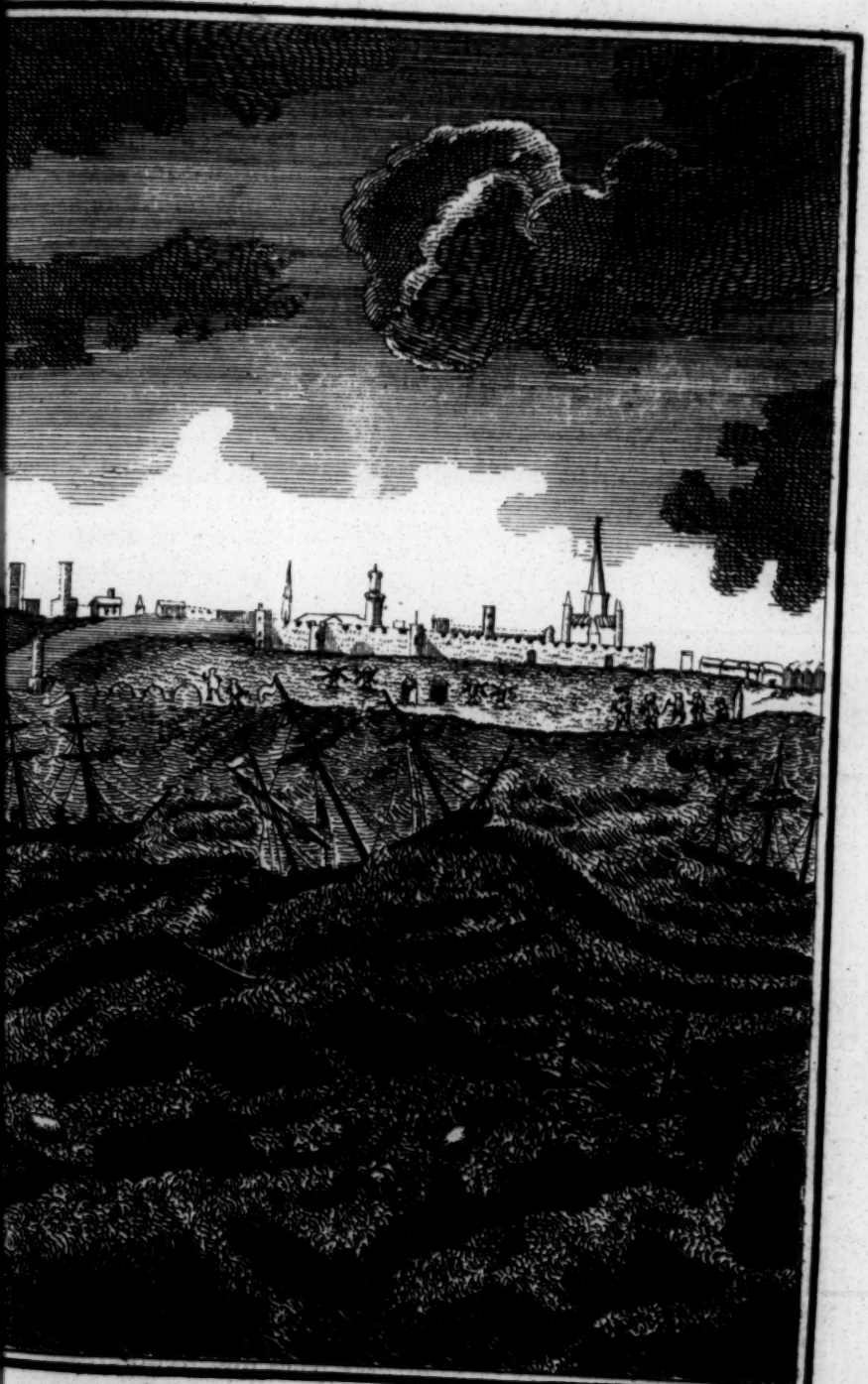
I was the youngeſt of three brothers. The eldeſt was a lieutenant-colonel in Lockhart's regiment, but ſlain by the Spaniards: what became of the other, I could never learn.

No charge nor pains were wanting in my education.—My father deſigned me for the law; yet nothing would ſerve me but I muſt go to ſea, both againſt the will of my father, the tears of my mother, and the entreaties of friends. One morning my father expoſtulated very warmly with me. What reaſon, ſays he, have you to leave your native country, where there muſt be a more certain proſpect of content and happineſs, to enter into a wandering condition of uneaſineſs and uncertainty? He recommended to me Augur's wiſh, "Neither to deſire poverty nor riches:" that a middle ſtate of life was the moſt happy; and that the high towering thoughts of raiſing our condition by wandering abroad, were ſurrounded with miſery and danger, and often ended with confuſion and diſappointment. I entreat you, nay, I command you, (ſays he) to deſiſt from theſe intentions. Conſider your elder brother, who laid down his life for his honour, or rather loſt it for his diſobedience to my will. If you will go (added he) my prayers ſhall however be offered for your preſervation; but a time may come, when, deſolate, oppreſſed, or forſaken, you

may wiſh you had taken your poor deſpiſed father's counſel.—He pronounced theſe words with ſuch a moving and paternal eloquence, while floods of tears ran down his aged cheeks, that it ſeemed to ſtem the torrent of my reſolutions. But this ſoon wore off, and a little after I informed my mother, that I could not ſettle to any buſineſs, my reſolutions were ſo ſtrong to ſee the world; and begged ſhe would gain my father's conſent only to go one voyage; which, if it did not prove proſperous, I would never attempt a ſecond. But my deſire was as vain as my folly in aſking. My mother paſſionately expreſſed her diſlike of this propoſal, telling me, "That as ſhe ſaw I was bent upon my own deſtruction, "contrary to their will and my duty, ſhe would ſay no "more, but leave me to myſelf to do whatever I pleaſed."

I was then, I think, nineteen years old, when one time being at Hull, I met a ſchool-fellow of mine, going along with his father, who was maſter of a ſhip, to London; and acquainted him with my wandering deſires; he aſſured me of a free paſſage, and a plentiful ſhare of what was neceſſary. Thus, without imploring a bleſſing, or taking farewell of my parents, I took ſhipping on the firſt of September 1651. We ſet ſail ſoon after; and our ſhip had ſcarce left the Humber aſtern, when there aroſe ſo violent a ſtorm, that, being extremely ſea-ſick I concluded the judgment of God deſervedly followed me for my diſobedience to my dear parents. It was then I called to mind the good advice of my father; how eaſy and comfortable was a middle ſtate of life; and I firmly reſolved, if it pleaſed God to ſet me on dry land once more, I would return to my parents, implore their forgiveneſs, and bid a final adieu to my wandering inclinations.

Such were my thoughts while the ſtorm continued; but theſe good reſolutions decreaſed with the danger; more eſpecially when my companion came to me, clapping me on the ſhoulder: "What Bob!" ſaid he, "ſure you was "not frightened laſt night with ſcarce a capful of wind?"—"And do you," cried I, "call ſuch a violent ſtorm a cap-"ful of wind?" "a ſtorm, you fool you," ſaid he, "this "is nothing; a good ſhip and ſea-room always baffles ſuch "a fooliſh ſquall of wind as that: But you're a freſh wa-"ter ſailor: Come boy, turn out, ſee what fine weather we "have now, and a good bowl of punch will drown all your "paſt ſorrows." In ſhort, the punch was made, I was drunk, and in one night's time drowned both my repent-



inson Crusoe Shipwreck'd at Yarmouth

ance and my good reſolutions, forgetting entirely the vows and promiſes I made in my diſtreſs: and whenever any reflections would return on me, what by company, and what by drinking, I ſoon maſtered thoſe fits, as I deridingly called them. But this only made way for another trial. Whereby I could not but ſee how much I was beholden to kind Providence.

Upon the ſixth day we came to an anchor in Harwich road, where we lay wind-bound with ſome Newcaſtle ſhips; and there being good anchorage, and our cables ſound, the ſeamen forgot their late toil and danger, and ſpent the time as merry as if they had been on ſhore. But on the eight day there aroſe a briſk gale of wind, which prevented our riding it up the river; and ſtill increaſing, our ſhip rode forecaſtle in, and ſhipped ſeveral large ſeas.

It was not long before horror ſeized the ſeamen themſelves, and I heard the maſter expreſs this melancholy ejaculation, "Lord have mercy upon us, we ſhall be all loſt "and undone!" For my part, ſick unto death, I kept my cabin, till the univerſal and terribly dreadful apprehenſions of our ſpeedy fate made me get upon deck: and there I was affrighted indeed. The ſea went mountains high: I could ſee nothing but diſtreſs around us; two ſhips had cut their maſts on board, and another was foundered: two more that had loſt their anchors, were forced out to the mercy of the ocean; and to ſave our lives we were forced to cut our foremaſt and mainmaſt quite away.

Who is there ſo ignorant as not to judge of my dreadful condition? I was but a freſh water ſailor, and therefore it ſeemed more terrible. Our ſhip was very good, but overloaded; which made the ſailors often cry out, "She would "founder!" Words I then was ignorant of. All this while the ſtorm continuing, and rather increaſing, the maſter and the moſt ſober part of his men went to prayers, expecting death every moment. In the middle of the night one cried out, "We had ſprung a leak:" another, "That "there was four feet water in the hold." I was juſt ready to expire with fear, when immediately all hands were called to the pump; and the men forced me alſo in that extremity to ſhare with them in their labour. While thus employed, the maſter eſpying ſome light colliers, fired a gun as a ſignal of diſtreſs; and I not underſtanding what it meant, and thinking that either the ſhip broke, or ſome dreadful thing happened, fell into a ſwoon. Even in that

common condition of woe, nobody minded me, excepting to thruſt me aſide with their feet, thinking me dead, and it was a great while before I recovered.

Happy it was for us, when, upon the ſignal given, they ventured out their boats to ſave our lives. All our pumping had been in vain, and vain had all our attempts been, had they not come to our ſhip's ſide, and our men caſt them a rope over the ſtern with a buoy to it, which after great labour they got hold of, and we hauling them to us got into their boat, and left our ſhip, which we perceived ſink within leſs than a quarter of an hour; and thus I learned what was meant by *foundering at ſea*. And now the men inceſſantly laboured to recover their own ſhip; but the ſea ran ſo high, and the wind blew ſo hard, that they thought it convenient to hale within ſhore; which, with great difficulty and danger, at laſt we happily effected, landing at a place called *Cromer*, not far from Winterton light-houſe; from whence we all walked to Yarmouth, where, as objects of pity, many good people furniſhed us with neceſſaries to carry us either to Hull or London.

Strange, after all this, like the prodigal ſon, I did not return to my father; who, hearing of the ſhip's calamity, for a long time thought me entombed in the deep. No doubt but I ſhould have *ſlain the fatted calf*, as the ſcripture expreſſeth it: but my ill fate ſtill puſhed me on, in ſpite of the powerful convictions of reaſon and conſcience.

When we had been at Yarmouth three days, I met my old companion, who had given me the invitation to go on board along with his father. His behaviour and ſpeech were altered, and in a melancholy manner aſked me how I did, telling his father who I was and how I had made this voyage for a trial only to proceed further abroad. Upon which the old gentleman turning to me gravely, ſaid, "Young man, you ought never to go to ſea any more, but "to take this for a certain ſign that you never will proſper "in a ſeafaring condition." "Sir," anſwered I, "will "you take the ſame reſolution?" "It is a different caſe," ſaid he, "it is my calling, and conſequently my duty; "but as you have made this voyage for a trial, you ſee "what ill ſucceſs Heaven has ſet before your eyes; and "perhaps our miſeries have been on your account, like "*Jonah* in the ſhip of *Tarſhiſh*. But pray what are you, and "on what account did you go to ſea?" Upon which I very freely declared my whole ſtory: at the end of which

he made this exclamation: Ye ſacred powers! what had I committed, that ſuch a wretch ſhould enter into my ſhip, to heap upon me ſuch a deluge of miſeries! But ſoon recollecting his paſſions, "Young man," ſaid he, "if you "do not go back, depend upon it, where ever you go, you "will meet with diſaſters and diſappointments till your fa- "ther's words are fulfilled upon you." And ſo we parted.

I thought at firſt to return home; but ſhame oppoſed that good motion, as thinking I ſhould be laughed at by my neighbours and acquaintance. So ſtrange is the nature of youth, who are not aſhamed to ſin, but yet aſhamed to repent; and ſo far from being aſhamed of thoſe actions for which they may be accounted fools, they think it folly to return to their duty, which is the principal mark of wiſdom. In ſhort, I travelled up to London, reſolving upon a voyage; and a voyage I ſoon heard of, by my acquaintance with a captain who took a fancy to me, to go to the coaſt of Guinea. Having ſome money, and appearing like a gentleman, I went on board not as a common ſailor or foremaſt-man; nay, the commander agreed I ſhould go that voyage with him without any expence; that I ſhould be his meſsmate and companion, and I was very welcome to carry any thing with me, and make the beſt merchandiſe I could.

I bleſſed my happy fortune, and humbly thanked my captain for this offer; and acquainting my friends in Yorkſhire, forty pounds were ſent me, the greateſt part of which my dear father and mother contributed to, with which I bought toys and trifles, as the captain directed me. My captain alſo taught me navigation, how to keep an account of the ſhip's courſe, take an obſervation, and led me into the knowledge of ſeveral uſeful branches of the mathematics. And indeed this voyage made me both a ſailor and a merchant; for I brought home five pounds nine ounces of gold duſt for my adventure, which produced, at my return to London, almoſt three hundred pounds. But in this voyage I was extremely ſick, being thrown into a violent calenture through the exceſſive heat, trading upon the coaſt from the latitude of fifteen degrees north even to the line itſelf.

But alas! my dear friend the captain ſoon departed this life after his arrival. This was a ſenſible grief to me; yet I reſolved to go another voyage with his mate, who had now got command of the ſhip. This proved a very un-

ſucceſsful one; for though I did not carry quite a hundred pounds of my late acquired wealth, (ſo that I had two hundred pounds left, which I repoſed with the captain's widow, who was an honeſt gentlewoman) yet my misfortunes in this unhappy voyage were very great. For our ſhip ſailing towards the Canary iſlands, we were chaſed by a Sallee rover; and in ſpite of all the haſte we could make, by crowding as much canvas as our yards could ſpread, or our maſts carry, the pirate gained upon us, ſo that we prepared ourſelves to fight. They had eighteen guns, and we had but twelve. About three in the afternoon there was a deſperate engagement, wherein many were killed and wounded on both ſides; but finding ourſelves overpowered with numbers, our ſhip diſabled, and ourſelves too impotent to have the leaſt hopes of ſucceſs, we were forced to ſurrender; and accordingly were all carried priſoners into the port of Sallee. Our men were ſent to the Emperor's court to be ſold there; but the pirate captain taking notice of me, kept me to be his own ſlave.

In this condition, I thought myſelf the moſt miſerable creature on earth, and the prophecy of my father came afreſh into my thoughts. However, my condition was better than I thought it to be, as will ſoon appear. Some hopes indeed I had that my new patron would go to ſea again, where he might be taken by a Spaniſh or Portugueſe man of war, and then I ſhould be ſet at liberty. But in this I was miſtaken; for he never took me with him, but left me to look after his little garden, and do the drudgery of his houſe, and when he returned from ſea, would make me lie in the cabin, and look after the ſhip. I had no one that I could communicate my thoughts to, which were continually meditating my eſcape; no Engliſhman, Iriſhman, or Scotchman here, but myſelf; and for two years I could ſee nothing practicable, but only pleaſed myſelf with the imagination.

After ſome length of time, my patron, as I found, grew ſo poor that he could not fit out his ſhip as uſual: and then he uſed conſtantly, once or twice a-week, if the weather was fair, to go out a-fiſhing, taking me and a young Moreſco boy to row the boat; and ſo much pleaſed was he with me for my dexterity in catching the fiſh, that he would often ſend me with a Moor, who was one of his kinſmen, and the Moreſco youth, to catch a diſh of fiſh for him.

One morning, as we were at the ſport, there aroſe ſuch

a thick fog, that we loſt ſight of the ſhore; and rowing we knew not which way, we laboured all the night, and in the morning found ourſelves in the ocean, two leagues from land. However, we attained there at length, and made the greater haſte, becauſe our ſtomachs were exceeding ſharp and hungry. In order to prevent ſuch diſaſters for the future, my patron ordered a carpenter to build a little ſtate-room or cabin in the middle of the long-boat, with a place behind it to ſteer and hale home the main ſheet, with other conveniences to keep him from the weather, as alſo lockers to put in all manner of proviſions, with a handſome ſhoulder of mutton ſail, gibing over the cabin.

In this he frequently took us out a fiſhing; and one time inviting two or three perſons of diſtinction to go with him, made proviſion extraordinary, providing alſo three fuſees with powder and ſhot, that they might have ſome ſport at fowling along the ſea-coaſt. The next morning the boat was made clean, her ancient and pendants out, and every thing ready; but their minds altering, my patron ordered us to go a-fiſhing, for that his gueſts would certainly ſup with him that night.

And now I began to think of my deliverance indeed. In order to this I perſuaded the Moor to get ſome proviſions on board, as not daring to meddle with our patron's; and he taking my advice, we ſtored ourſelves with ruſk biſcuit, and three jars of water. Beſides, I privately conveyed into the boat a bottle of brandy, ſome twine, thread, a hammer, hatchet, and a ſaw; and, in particular, ſome bees-wax, which was a great comfort to me, and ſerved to make candles. I then perſuaded Muley (for ſo was the Moor called) to procure ſome powder and ſhot, pretending to kill ſea curlieus, which he innocently and readily agreed to. In ſhort, being provided with all things neceſſary, we ſailed out reſolving for my own part to make my eſcape, though it ſhould coſt me my life.

When we had paſſed the caſtle, we fell to fiſhing; but though I knew there was a bite, I diſſembled the matter, in order to put further out to ſea. Accordingly we ran a league further: when giving the boy the helm, and pretending to ſtoop for ſomething, I ſeized Muley by ſurpriſe, and threw him overboard. As he was an excellent ſwimmer, he ſoon aroſe, and made towards the boat; upon which, I took out a fuſee, and preſented at him: "Muley," ſaid I, "I never yet deſigned to do you any harm, and

" ſeek nothing now but my redemption. I know you are " able enough to ſwim to ſhore, and ſave your life; but " if you are reſolved to follow me, to the endangering of " mine, the very moment you proceed, I will ſhoot you " through the head." The harmleſs creature, at theſe words, turned himſelf from me, and I make no doubt got ſafe to land. Then turning to the boy Xury, I perceived he trembled at the action; but I put him out of all fear, telling him, that if he would be true and faithful to me, I would do well by him. " And therefore," ſaid I, " you " muſt ſtroke your face to be faithful, and, as the Turks " have learned you, ſwear by Mahomet, and the beard of " your father, or elſe I will throw you into the ſea alſo." So innocent did the child then look, and with ſuch an obliging ſmile conſented, that I readily believed him, and from that day forward began to love him entirely.

We then purſued our voyage; and leſt they ſhould think me gone to the Streights mouth, I kept to the ſouthward to the truly Barbarian coaſt; but, in the duſk of the evening, I changed my courſe, and ſteering directly S. and by E. that I might keep near the ſhore; and having a freſh gale of wind, with a pleaſant ſmooth ſea, by three o'clock next day I was one hundred and fifty miles beyond the Emperor of Morocco's dominions. Yet ſtill having the dreadful apprehenſion of being retaken, I continued ſailing for five days ſucceſſively, till ſuch time as the wind ſhifting to the ſouthward, made me conclude, that if any veſſel was in the chace of me, they would proceed no farther. After ſo much fatigue and thought, I anchored at the mouth of a little river, I knew not what, or where; neither did I then ſee any people. What I principally wanted was freſh water; and I was reſolved about duſk to ſwim aſhore. But no ſooner did the gloomy clouds of night begin to ſucceed the declining day, when we heard ſuch barking, roaring, and howling of wild creatures, that one might have thought the very ſtrongeſt monſters of nature, or infernal ſpirits, had their reſidence there. Poor Xury, almoſt dead with fear, entreated me not to go on ſhore that night. " Suppoſing I don't, Xury," ſaid I, " and in the " morning we ſhould ſee men who are worſe than thoſe we " fear, what then?" " O den we may give dem de ſhoot " gun," replied Xury, laughing, " and de gun make dem " all run away." The wit, and broken Engliſh which the boy had learned among the captives of our nation, plea-



obinson Crusoe and his boy Xury on the
Coast of Guinea shooting a Lyon

ſed me entirely; and, to add to his cheerfulneſs, I gave him a dram of the bottle: we could get but little ſleep all the night for thoſe terrible howlings they made; and, indeed, we were both very much affrighted, when, by the rollings of the water, and other tokens, we juſtly concluded one of thoſe monſters made towards our boat. I could not ſee till it came within two oars' length, when taking my fuſee, I let fly at him. Whether I hit him or no, I cannot tell; but he made towards the ſhore, and the noiſe of my gun increaſed the ſtupenduous noiſe of the monſters.

The next morning I was reſolved to go on ſhore to get freſh water, and venture my life among the beaſts or ſavages, ſhould either attack me. Xury ſaid, he would take one of the jars, and bring me ſome. I aſked him why he would go, and not I? The poor boy anſwered, "If wild mans come, they eat me, you go away." A mind ſcarcely now to be imitated, ſo contrary to ſelf-preſervation, the moſt powerful law of nature! This indeed increaſed my affection to the child. "Well, dear Xury," ſaid I, "we will both go aſhore, both kill wild mans, and "they ſhall eat neither of us." So giving Xury a piece of ruſk bread to eat, and a dram, we waded aſhore, carrying nothing with us but our arms, and two jars for water. I did not go out of ſight of the boat, as dreading the ſavages coming down the river in their canoes; but the boy ſeeing a low decent or vale about a mile in the country, he wandered to it: and then running back to me with great precipitation, I thought he was purſued by ſome ſavage or wild beaſt; upon which I approached, reſolving to periſh or protect him from danger. As he came nearer to me, I ſaw ſomething hanging over his ſhoulders, which was a creature he had ſhot like a hare, but different in colour, and longer legs; however were glad of it, for it proved wholeſome and nouriſhing meat: but what added to our joy was, my boy aſſured me there was plenty of water, and that he *ſee no wild mans*. And greater ſtill was our comfort, when we found freſh water in the creek where we were when the tide was out, without going ſo far up into the country.

In this place I began to conſider that the Canary and Cape de Verde iſlands lay not far off; but having no inſtrument, I knew not what latitude, or when to ſtand off to ſea for them; yet my hopes were, I ſhould meet ſome of the Engliſh trading veſſels, who would relieve and take us in.

The place I was in was no doubt that wild country, inhabited only by a few, that lies between the Emperor of Morocco's dominions and the Negroes. It is filled with wild beaſts, and the Moors uſe it for hunting chiefly. From this place I thought I ſaw the top of the mountain Teneriffe in the Canaries: which made me try twice to attain it; but as often was I drove back, and ſo forced to purſue my fortune along ſhore.

Early one morning we came to an anchor under a little point of land, but pretty high; and the tide beginning to flow, we lay ready to go further in. But Xury, whoſe youthful and penetrating eyes were ſharper than mine, in a ſoft tone, deſired me to keep far from land, leſt we ſhould be devoured. "For look yonder, mayter," ſaid he, "and ſee the dreadful monſter faſt aſleep on de ſide of de "hill." Accordingly looking where he pointed, I eſpied a fearful monſter indeed. It was a terrible great lion that lay on ſhore, covered as it were by a ſhade of a piece of the hill. Xury, ſaid I, "you ſhall go on ſhore and kill him." But the boy looked amazed: "Me kill him!" ſays he, "he eat me at one mouth:" meaning one mouthful. Upon which I bid him lie ſtill, and charging my biggeſt gun with two ſlugs, and a good charge of powder, I took the beſt aim I could to ſhoot him through the head; but his leg lying over his noſe, the ſlug broke his knee-bone. The lion awaking with the pain, got up, but ſoon fell down, giving the moſt hideous groan I ever heard: but taking my ſecond piece, I ſhot him through the head, and then he lay ſtruggling for life. Upon this Xury took heart and deſired my leave to go on ſhore. Go then, ſaid I. Upon which, taking a little gun in one hand, he ſwam to ſhore with the other, and coming cloſe to the lion, put a period to his life, by ſhooting him again through the head

But this was ſpending our ammunition in vain, the fleſh not being good to eat. Xury was like a champion, and comes on board for a hatchet, to cut off the head of his enemy; but not having ſtrength to perform it, he cut off and brought me a foot. I bethought me however that his ſkin would be of uſe. This work coſt Xury and me a whole day; when ſpreading it on the top of our cabin, the hot beams of the ſun effectually dried it in two days time, and it afterwards ſerved me for a bed to lie on.

And now we ſailed ſoutherly, living ſparingly on our

proviſions, and went no oftener on ſhore than we were obliged for freſh water. My deſign was to make the river Gambia or Senegal, or any where about the Cape de Verde, in hopes to meet ſome European ſhip. If Providence did not ſo favour me, my next courſe was to ſeek for the iſlands, or loſe my life among the negroes. And in a word, I put my whole ſtreſs upon this, "Either that I "muſt meet with ſome ſhip, or certainly periſh."

One day as we were ſailing along, we ſaw people ſtand on the ſhore looking at us; we could alſo p rceive they were black and ſtark naked. I was inclined to go on ſhore, but Xury cried no, no; however, I approached nearer, and I found they run along the ſhore by me a good way. They had no weapons in their hands, except one, who held a long ſtick, which Xury told me was a lance, with which they could kill at a great diſtance. I talked to them by ſigns, and made them ſenſible I wanted ſomething to eat; they beckoned to me to ſtop my boat, while two of them ran up into the country, and in leſs than half an hour came back, and brought with them two pieces of dry fleſh, and ſome corn, which we kindly accepted: and to prevent any fears on either ſide, they brought the food to the ſhore, laid it down, then went and ſtood a great way off till we fetched it on board, and then came cloſe to us again.

But while we were returning thanks to them, being all we could afford, two mighty creatures came from the mountain, one as it were purſuing the other with great fury, which we were the rather inclined to belive, as they ſeldom appear but in the night; and both theſe ſwiftly paſſing by the negroes, jumped into the ſea, wantonly ſwimming about, as tho' the diverſion of the waters had put a ſtop to their fierceneſs. At laſt one of them coming nearer to my boat than I expected or deſired, I ſhot him directly through the head; upon which he ſunk immediately, yet riſing again, would have willingly made to the ſhore; but between the wound and the ſtrangling of the water, he died before he could reach it.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the conſternation the poor negroes were in at the firing of my gun; much leſs can I mention their ſurprize, when they perceived the creature to be ſlain by it. I made ſigns to them to draw near it with a rope, and then gave it to them to hale on ſhore. It was a beautiful leopard, which made me deſire its ſkin: and the

negroes ſeeming to covet the carcaſe, I freely gave it to them. As for the other leopard, it made to ſhore, and ran with a prodigious ſwiftneſs out of ſight. The negroes having kindly furniſhed me with water, and with what roots and grains their country afforded, I took my leave, and, after eleven days ſail, came in ſight of the Cape de Verde, and thoſe iſlands called by its name. But the great diſtance I was from it, and fearing contrary winds would prevent my reaching them, I began to grow melancholy and dejected, when, upon a ſudden Xury cried out, "Ma-"ſter! Maſter! a ſhip with a ſail!" and looked as affrighted as if it was his maſter's ſhip ſent in ſearch of us. But I ſoon diſcovered ſhe was a Portugueſe ſhip, as I thought, bound to the coaſt of Guinea for negroes. Upon which I ſtrove for life to come up to them. But vain had it been, if through their perſpective glaſſes they had not perceived me, and ſhortened their ſail to let me come up. Encouraged at this, I ſet up my patron's ancient, and fired a gun, both as ſignals of diſtreſs; upon which they very kindly lay to, ſo that in three hours time I came up with them. They ſpoke to me in Portugueſe, Spaniſh, and French, but neither of theſe did I underſtand; till at length a Scots ſailor called, and then I told him I was an Engliſhman, who had eſcaped from the Moors at Sallee; upon which they took me kindly on board, with all my effects.

Surely none can expreſs the inconceivable joy I felt at this happy deliverance! who, from being a late miſerable and forlorn creature, was not only relieved, but in favour with the maſter of the ſhip, to whom, in return for my deliverance, I offered all I had. "God forbid!" ſaid he, "that I ſhould take any thing from you. Every thing "ſhall be delivered to you when you come to Brazil. If "I have ſaved your life, it is no more than I ſhould ex-"pect to receive myſelf from any other, when in the ſame "circumſtances, I ſhould happen to meet the like deliver-"ance. And ſhould I take from you what you have, and "leave you at Brazil, why, this would be only taking "away a life I have given. My charity teaches me bet-"ter. Thoſe effects you have will ſupport you there, and "provide you a paſſage home again." And, indeed, he acted with the ſtricteſt juſtice in what he did, taking my things into his poſſeſſion, and giving me an exact inventory, even to my earthen jars. He bought my boat of me

for the ſhip's uſe, giving me a note of eighty pieces of eight, payable at Brazil; and if any body offered more, he would make it up. He alſo gave me ſixty pieces for my boy Xury. It was with great reluctance I was prevailed upon to ſell the child's liberty, who had ſerved me ſo faithfully; but the boy was willing himſelf; and it was agreed, that after ten years he ſhould be made free, upon his renouncing Mahometaniſm, and embracing Chriſtianity.

Having a pleaſant voyage to the Brazils, we arrived in the Bay de Todos los Santos, or All-Saints Bay, in twenty-two days after. And here I cannot forget the generous treatment of the captain. He would take nothing for my paſſage, gave me twenty ducats for the leopard's ſkin; and thirty for the lion's. Every thing he cauſed to be delivered, and what I would ſell he bought. In ſhort, I made about 220 pieces of my cargo; and with this ſtock I entered once more, as I may ſay, into the ſcene of life.

Being recommended to a honeſt planter, I lived with him till ſuch time as I was informed of the manner of their planting and making ſugar; and ſeeing how well they lived, and how ſuddenly they grew rich, I was filled with a deſire to ſettle among them, and reſolved to get my money remitted to me, and to purchaſe a plantation.

To be brief, I bought a ſettlement next door to an honeſt and kind neighbour, born at Liſbon, of Engliſh parents, whoſe plantation joining to mine, we improved it very amicably together. Both our ſtocks were low, and for two years we planted only for food: but the third year we planted ſome tobacco, and each of us dreſſed a large piece of ground the enſuing year for planting canes. But now I found how much I wanted aſſiſtance, and repented the loſs of my dear boy Xury.

Having none to aſſiſt me, my father's words came into my mind: and I uſed to aſk myſelf, if what I ſought was only a middle ſtation of life, why could it not as well be obtained in England as here? when I pondered on this with regret, the thoughts of my late deliverance forſook me. I had none to converſe with but my neighbour; no work to be done but by my own hands; it often made me ſay, my condition was like to that of a man caſt upon a deſolate iſland. So unhappy are we in our reflections, ſo forgetful of what good things we receive ourſelves, and ſo unthankful for our deliverance from thoſe calamities that others endure.

I was in ſome meaſure ſettled, before the captain, who took me up, departed from the Brazils. One day I went to him, and told him what ſtock I had in London, deſiring his aſſiſtance in getting it remitted; to which the good gentleman readily conſented, but would only have me ſend for half my money, leſt it ſhould miſcarry; which, if it did, I might ſtill have the remainder to ſupport me: and ſo taking letters of procuration from me, bid me trouble myſelf no farther about it.

And, indeed, wonderful was his kindneſs towards me; for he not only procured the money I had drawn for upon my captain's widow, but ſent me over a ſervant with a cargo proportionable to my condition. He alſo ſent me over tools of all ſorts, iron-work, and utenſils neceſſary for my plantation, and which proved of the greateſt uſe to me in my buſineſs.

Wealth now accumulating on me, and uncommon ſucceſs crowning my proſperous labours, I might have reſted happy in that middle ſtate of life my father had ſo often recommended; yet nothing would content me, ſuch was my evil genius, but I muſt leave this happy ſtation, for a fooliſh ambition in riſing; and thus, once more, I caſt myſelf into the deepeſt gulph of miſery that ever poor creature fell into. Having lived four years in Brazil, I had not only learned the language, but contracted acquaintance with the moſt eminent planters, and even the merchants of St. Salvadore; to whom, once, by way of diſcourſe, having given account of my two voyages to the coaſt of Guinea, and the manner of trading there for mere trifles, by which we furniſh our plantations with negroes, they gave ſuch attention to what I ſaid, that three of them came one morning to me, and told me they had a ſecret propoſal to make. After enjoining me to ſecrecy (it being an infringement on the powers of the Kings of Portugal and Spain) they told me they had a mind to fit out a ſhip to go to Guinea, in order to ſtock the plantation with negroes, which, as they could not be publicly ſold, they would divide among them; and if I would go their ſupercargo in the ſhip, to manage the trading part, I ſhould have an equal ſhare of the negroes, without providing any ſtock. The thing indeed was fair enough, had I been in another condition. But I, born to be my own deſtroyer, could not reſiſt the propoſal, but accepted the offer, upon condition of their looking after my plantation. So mak-

ing a formal will, I bequeathed my effects to my good friend the captain, as my univerſal heir; but obliged him to diſpoſe of my effects as directed, one half of the produce to himſelf, and the other to be ſhipped to England.

The ſhip being fitted out, and all things ready, we ſet ſail the firſt of September 1659, being the ſame day eight years I left my father and mother in Yorkſhire. We ſailed northward upon the coaſt, in order to gain Africa, till we made Cape Auguſtine; from whence going farther into the ocean, out of ſight of land, we ſteered as though we were bound for the iſle Fernand de Noronha, leaving the iſlands on the eaſt; and then it was that we met with a terrible tempeſt, which continued for twelve days ſucceſſively, ſo that the winds carried us whereſoever they pleaſed. In this perplexity one of our men died, and one man and a boy were waſhed overboard. When the weather cleared up a little, we found ourſelves eleven degrees north latitude, upon the coaſt of Guinea. Upon this the captain gave reaſons for returning; which I oppoſed, counſelling him to ſtand away for Barbadoes, which, as I ſuppoſed, might be attained in fifteen days. So altering our courſe, we ſailed north-weſt and by weſt, in order to reach the Leeward Iſlands; but a ſecond ſtorm ſucceeding, drove us to the weſtward: ſo that we were juſtly afraid of falling into the hands of cruel ſavages, or the paws of devouring beaſts of prey.

In this great diſtreſs, one of our men, early in the morning cried out, "Land, land!" which he had no ſooner cried out, but our ſhip ſtruck upon a ſand, and in a moment the ſea broke over her in ſuch a manner, that we expected we ſhould all have periſhed immediately. We knew nothing where we were, or upon what land we were driven; whether an iſland or the main, inhabited or not inhabited; and we could not ſo much as hope that the ſhip would hold out many minutes, without breaking in pieces, except the wind by a miracle ſhould turn about immediately. While we ſtood looking at one another, expecting death every moment, the mate lays hold of the boat, and with the help of the reſt got her flung over the ſhip's ſide, and getting all into her, being eleven of us, committed ourſelves to God's mercy, and the wild ſea. And now we ſaw that this laſt effort would not be a ſufficient protection from death; ſo high did the ſea riſe, that it was impoſſible the boat ſhould live. As to making ſail, we had

none; neither if we had, could we make uſe of any. So that when we had rowed, or rather were dr ven about a league and a half, a raging wave, like a lofty mountain, came rolling aſtern of us, and took us with ſuch fury, that at once it overſet the boat. Thus being ſwallowed up in a moment, we had hardly time to call upon the tremendous name of God: much leſs to implore, in dying ejaculations, his infinite mercy to receive our departing ſouls.

Men are generally counted inſenſible, when ſtruggling in the pangs of death; but while I was overwhelmed with water, I had the moſt dreadful apprehenſions imaginable. For the joys of heaven and the torments of hell, ſeemed to preſent themſelves before me in theſe dying agonies, and even ſmall ſpace of time, as it were, between life and death. I was going, I thought, I knew not whither, into a diſmal gulph unknown, and as yet unperceived, never to behold my friends, nor the light of this world any more! Could I even have thought of annihilation, or a total diſſolution of ſoul as well as body, the gloomy thoughts of having no further being, no knowledge of what we hoped for, but an eternal *quie u* , without life or ſenſe: even that, I ſay, would have been enough to ſtrike me with horror and confuſion! I ſtrove however to the laſt extremity, while all my companions were overpowered and entombed in the deep: and it was with great difficulty I kept my breath till the wave ſpent itſelf, and retiring back, left me on the ſhore half dead with the water I had taken in. As ſoon as I got on my feet, I ran as faſt as I could, leſt another wave ſhould purſue me, and carry me back again. But, for all the haſte I made, I could not avoid it; for the ſea came after me like a high mountain, or furious enemy; ſo that my buſineſs was to hold my breath, and by raiſing myſelf on the water, preſerve it by ſwimming. The next dreadful wave buried me at once twenty or thirty feet deep, but at the ſame time carried me with a mighty force and ſwiftneſs toward the ſhore; when raiſing myſelf, I held out as well as poſſible, till at length the water having ſpent itſelf, began to return, at which I ſtruck forward, and feeling ground with my feet, I took to my heels again. Thus being ſerved twice more, I was at laſt daſhed againſt a piece of a rock, in ſuch a manner as left me ſenſeleſs; but recovering a little before the return of the wave, which, no doubt, would then have overwhelmed me, I held faſt by the rock till thoſe ſucceeding waves abated; and then fetch-

ing another run, was overtaken by a ſmall wave, which was ſoon conquered. But before any more could overtake me, I reached the main land, where clambering up the clifts of the ſhore, tired and almoſt ſpent I ſat down on the graſs, free from the dangers of the foaming ocean.

No tongue can expreſs the ecſtaſies and tranſports that my ſoul felt at the happy deliverance. It was like a reprieve to a dying malefactor, with the halter about his neck, and ready to be turned off. I was wrapt up in contemplation, and often lifted up my hands, with the profoundeſt humility, to the divine powers, for ſaving my life, when the reſt of my companions were all drowned. And now I began to caſt my eyes around, to behold what place I was in, and what I had next to do. I could ſee no houſe nor people: I was wet, yet had no clothes to ſhift me; hungry and thirſty, yet had nothing to eat or drink; no weapon to deſtroy any creature for my ſuſtenance, nor defend myſelf againſt devouring beaſts; in ſhort I had nothing but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a box half filled with tobacco. The darkſome night coming on upon me, increaſed my fears of being devoured by wild creatures; my mind was plunged in deſpair, and having no proſpect, as I thought of life before me, I prepared for another kind of death than what I had lately eſcaped. I walked about a furlong to ſee if I could find any freſh water, which I did, to my great joy: and taking a quid of tobacco to prevent hunger, I got up into a thick buſhy tree, and ſeating myſelf ſo that I could not fall, a deep ſleep overtook me, and for that night buried my ſorrows in a quiet repoſe.

It was broad day the next morning before I awaked; when I not only perceived the tempeſt was ceaſed, but ſaw the ſhip driven almoſt as far as the rock before mentioned, which the waves had daſhed me againſt, and which was about a mile from the place where I was. When I came down from my apartment in the tree, I perceived the ſhip's boat two miles diſtant on my right hand, lying on ſhore, as the waves had caſt her. I thought to have got to her; but there being an inlet of water of about half a mile's breadth between it and me I returned again towards the ſhip, as hoping to find ſomething for my more immediate ſubſiſtence. About noon, when the ſea was calm, that I could come within a quarter of a mile of her, it was to my grief I perceived, that, if we had kept on board, all our lives had been ſaved. Theſe thoughts, and

my ſolitude, drew tears from my eyes, though all in vain. So reſolving to get to the ſhip, I ſtripped and leaped into the water, when ſwimming round her I was afraid I ſhould not get any thing to lay hold of; but it was my good fortune to eſpy a ſmall piece of rope hang down by the forechains, ſo low that, by the help of it, though with great difficulty, I got into the forecaſtle of the ſhip. Here I found that the ſhip was bulged, and had a great deal of water in her hold; her ſtern was lifted up againſt a bank, and her head almoſt to the water. All her quarter, and what was there, were free and dry. The proviſions I found in good order, with which I crammed my pockets; and loſing no time, eat while I was doing other things; I alſo found ſome rum, of which I took a hearty dram; and now I wanted for nothing except a boat, which indeed was all, to carry away what was needful for me.

Neceſſity occaſions quickneſs of thought. We had ſeveral ſpare yards, a ſpare topmaſt or two, and two or three large ſpars of wood. With theſe I fell to work, and ſlung as many of them overboard as I could manage, tying every one of them with a rope that they might not drive away. This done, I went down the ſhip's ſide, and tied four of them faſt together at both ends, in form of a raft, and laying two or three ſhort pieces of plank upon them croſswiſe, I found it would bear me, but not any conſiderable weight. Upon which I went to work again, cutting a ſpare topmaſt into three lengths, adding them to my raft with a great deal of labour and pains. I then conſidered what I ſhould load it with, it being not able to bear a ponderous burden. And this I ſoon thought of, firſt laying upon it all the planks and boards I could get; next I lowered down three of the ſeamen's cheſts, after I had filled them with bread, rice, three Dutch cheeſes, five pieces of dried goat's fleſh, and ſome European corn, what little the rats had ſpared; and for liquors, I found ſeveral caſes of bottles belonging to our ſkipper, in which were ſome cordial waters, and four or five gallons of rack, which I ſtowed by themſelves. By this time the tide beginning to flow, I perceived my coat, waiſtcoat, and ſhirt, ſwim away, which I had left on the ſhore; as for my linen breeches and ſtockings, I ſwam with them on to the ſhip: but I ſoon found clothes enough, though I took no more than I wanted for the preſent. My eyes were chiefly on tools to work with; and, after a long ſearch, I found out

the carpenter's chest, which I got safe down on my raft. I then looked for arms and ammunition, and in the great cabin found two good fowling pieces, two pistols, several powder horns filled, a small bag of shot, and two old rusty swords. I likewise found three barrels of powder, two of which were good, but the third had taken water, also two or three broken oars, two saws, an axe, and a hammer. I then put to sea, and in getting to shore had three encouragements. 1. A smooth calm sea. 2. The tide rising and setting in to shore. 3. The little wind there was blew towards the land. After I had sailed about a mile, I found the raft to drive a little distance from the place where I first landed; and then I perceived a little opening of the land, with a strong current of the tide running into it: upon which I kept the middle of the stream. But great was my concern, when on a sudden the forepart of my raft ran a-ground; so that had I not, with great difficulty, for near half an hour, kept my back straining against the chests to keep my effects in their places, all I had would have gone into the sea. But after some time, the rising of the water caused the raft to float again, and coming up a little river with land on both sides, I landed in a little cave, as near the mouth as possible, the better to discover a sail, if any such providentially passed that way.

Not far off, I espied a hill of a stupendous height, surrounded with lesser hills about it, and thither I was resolved to go and view the country, that I might see what part was best to fix my habitation. Accordingly, arming myself with a pistol, a fowling-piece, powder and ball, I ascended the mountain. There I perceived I was in an island, encompassed by the sea; no distant lands to be seen but scattering rocks that lay to the west: that it seemed to be a barren place, and, as I thought, inhabited only by wild beasts. I perceived abundance of fowls, but ignorant of what kind, or whether good for nourishment, I shot one of them at my return, which occasioned a confused screaming among the other birds, and I found it, by its colours and beak, to be a kind of a hawk, but its flesh was perfect carrion.

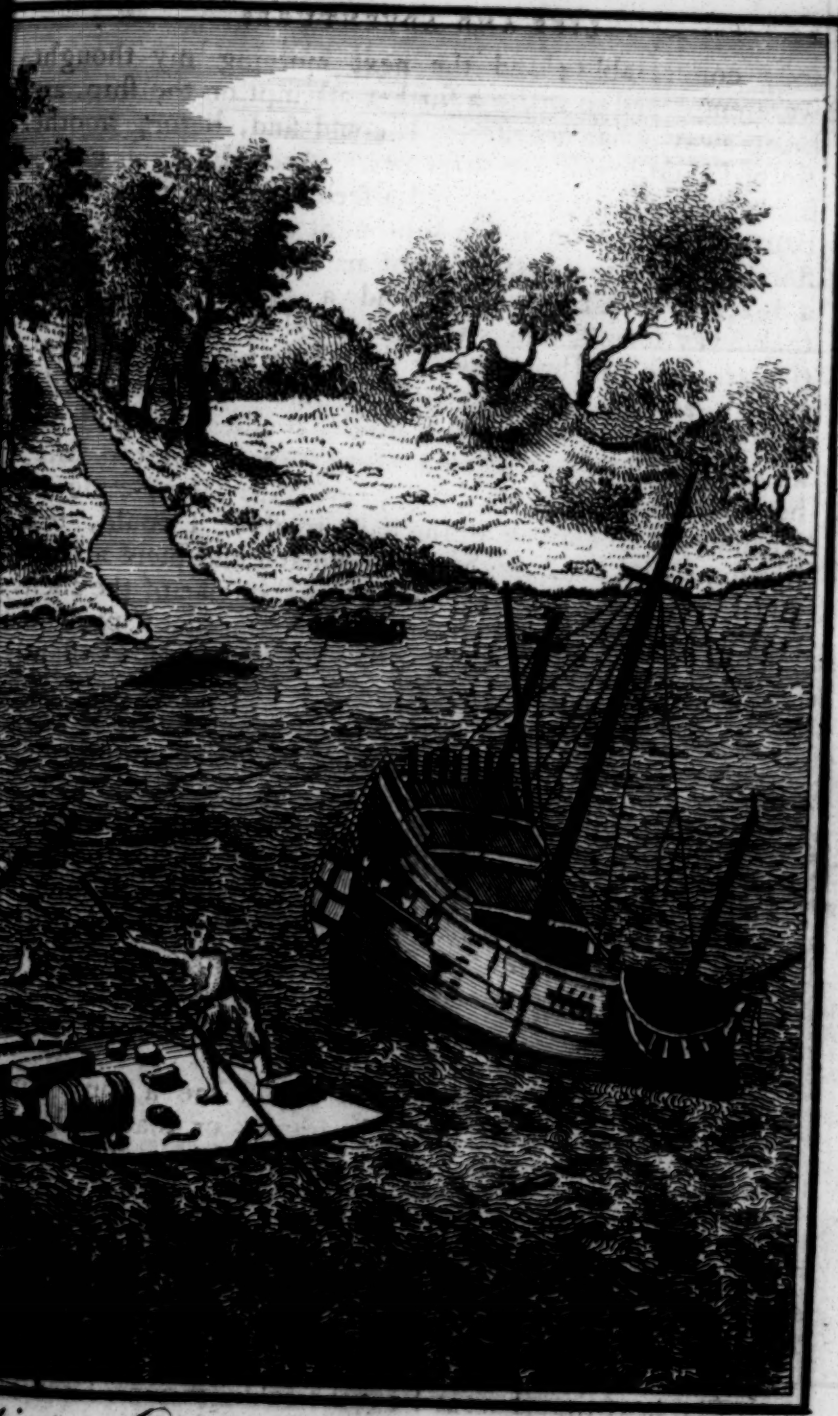
When I came to my raft, I brought my effects on shore, which work spent that day entirely; and fearing that some cruel beasts might devour me in the night time while I slept, I made a kind of hut or barricade with the chests and boards I had brought on shore. That night I slept

very comfortably; and the next morning my thoughts were employed to make a further attempt on the ſhip, and bring away what neceſſaries I could find, before another ſtorm ſhould break her to pieces. Accordingly I got on board as before, and prepared a ſecond raft, far more nice than the firſt; upon which I brought away the carpenter's ſtores, two or three bags full of nails, a great jack-ſcrew, a dozen or two of hatchets, and a grind-ſtone. I alſo took away ſeveral things that belonged to the gunner, particularly two or three iron crows, two barrels of muſket bullets, another fowling piece, a ſmall quantity of powder, and a large bag full of ſmall ſhot. Beſides theſe, I took all the men's clothes I could find, a ſpare foretop-ſail, a hammock, and ſome bedding; and thus completing my ſecond cargo, I made all the haſte to ſhore I could, fearing ſome wild beaſt might deſtroy what I had there already. But I only found a little wild cat ſittin. on one of the cheſts, which not ſeeming to fear me, or the gun that I preſented at her, I threw her a piece of biſcuit which ſhe inſtantly ate, and departed.

When I had gotten theſe effects on ſhore, I went to work, in order to make me a little tent with the ſail and ſome poles which I had cut for that purpoſe; and having finiſhed it, what things might be damaged by the weather I brought in, piling all the empty cheſts and caſks in a circle, the better to fortify it againſt any ſudden attempt of man or beaſt. After this, I blocked up the doors with ſome boards, and an empty cheſt turned the long way out. I then charged my gun and piſtol, and laying my bed on the ground, ſlept as comfortably, till next morning, as though I had been in a Chriſtian country.

Now, though I had enough to ſubſiſt me a long time, yet deſpairing of a ſudden deliverance, or that both ammunition and proviſion might be ſpent before ſuch thing happened, I coveted as much as I could; and ſo long as the ſhip remained in that condition, I daily brought away one neceſſary or other; particularly the rigging, ſails, and cordage, ſome twine, a barrel of wet powder, ſome ſugar, a barrel of meal, three caſks of rum, and, what indeed was moſt welcome to me, a whole hogſhead of bread.

The next time I went I cut the cables in pieces, carried off a hawſer whole, with a great deal of iron work, and made another raft with the mizen and ſprit-ſail-yard; but this being ſo unweildly, by the too heavy burden I had upon



binson Crusoe saving his Goods out of the Wreck of his Ship

it, and not being able ſo detxerouſly to guide it, as the former, both my cargo and I were overturned. For my part, all the damage I ſuſtained was a wet ſkin; and, at low water, after much labour in diving, I got moſt of the cables, and ſome pieces of iron.

Thirteen days had I now been in the iſland, and eleven times on board, bringing away all that was poſſible; and, I believe, had the weather been calm, I ſhould have brought away the whole ſhip, piece by piece. As I was going the twelfth time, the wind began to riſe; however, I ventured at low water, and rummaging the cabin, in a locker I found ſeveral razors, ſciſſors, and ſome dozens of knives and forks: and in another thirty-ſix pounds in pieces of eight, ſilver and gold. "Ah! ſimple vanity," ſaid I, "whom this world ſo much dotes on, where is now "thy virtue, thy excellency to me? You cannot procure "me one thing needful, nor remove me from this deſolate "iſland to a place of plenty. One of theſe knives, ſo "meanly eſteemed, is to me more preferable than all this "heap. E'en therefore remain where thou art, to ſink in "the deep as unregarded, even as a creature whoſe life is "not worth preſerving." Yet, after all this exclamation, I wrapt it up in a piece of canvas, and began to think of making another raft; but I ſoon perceived the wind began to ariſe, a freſh gale blowing from the ſhore, and the ſky overcaſt with clouds and darkneſs; ſo, thinking a raft to be in vain, I let myſelf into the water with what things I had about me, and it was with much difficulty I got aſhore, when ſoon after it blew a fearful ſtorm.

That night I ſlept very contentedly in my little tent, ſurrounded with all my effects; but, when I looked out in the morning, no more ſhip was to be ſeen. This much ſurpriſed me for the preſent: yet, when I conſidered I had loſt no time, abated no pains, and had got every thing uſeful out of her, I comforted myſelf in the beſt manner, and entirely ſubmitted to the will of Providence.

My next thoughts were, how I ſhould defend and ſecure myſelf from ſavages and wild beaſts, if any ſuch were in the iſland. At one time I thought of digging a cave, at another I was for erecting a tent; and, at length, I reſolved to do both: The manner or form of which will not, I hope, be unpleaſing to deſcribe.

When I conſidered the ground where I was, that it was mooriſh, and had no freſh water near it, my reſolutions

were to ſearch for a ſoil healthy and well watered, where I might not only be ſheltered from the ſun's ſcorching heat, but be more conveniently ſituated, as well to be ſecured from wild men, and beaſts of prey, as more eaſily to diſcover any diſtant ſail, ſhould it ever ſo happen.

And, indeed, it was not long before I had my deſire. I found a little plain near a riſing hill, the front towards which being as ſteep as a houſe ſide, nothing could deſcend on me from the top. On the ſide of this rock was a little hollow place, reſembling the entrance or door of a cave. Juſt before this place, on the circle of the green, I reſolved my tent ſhould ſtand. This plain did not much exceed a hundred yards broad, and about twice as long like a delightful green before my door, with a pleaſing, though an irregular, deſcent every way to the low grounds by the ſea-ſide, lying on the N. W. ſide of the hill, ſo that it was ſheltered from the exceſſive heat of the ſun. After this I drew a ſemicircle, containing ten yards in a ſemi-diameter, and twenty yards in the whole, driving down two rows of ſtrong ſtakes, not ſix inches from each other. Then with the pieces of cable which I had cut on board, I regularly laid them in the circle between the piles up to their tops, which were more than five feet out of the earth, and after drove another row of piles looking within ſide againſt them, between two or three feet high, which made me conclude it a little impregnable caſtle againſt men and beaſts. And for my better ſecurity I would have no door, but entered in and came out by the help of a ladder which I alſo made.

Here was my fence and fortreſs, into which I carried all my riches, ammunition, and ſtores. After which, working on the rock, what with dirt and ſtones I dug out, I not only raiſed my ground two feet, but made a little cellar to my manſion-houſe; and this coſt me many days labour and pains. One day in particular a ſhower of rain falling, thunder and lightning enſued which put me in terror leſt my powder ſhould take fire, and not only hinder my neceſſary ſubſiſtence, by killing me food, but even blow up me and my habitation. To prevent which, I fell to making boxes and bags, in order to ſeparate it, having by me near 150lb. weight. And thus being eſtabliſhed as King of the iſland, every day I went out with my gun to ſee what I could kill that was fit to eat. I ſoon perceived numbers of goats, but very ſhy, yet having watched them narrowly, and ſeeing I could better ſhoot off the rocks than when I

the low grounds, I happened to ſhoot a ſhe-goat ſuckling a young kid; which not thinking its dam ſlain, ſtood by her unconcerned; and when I took the dead creature up, the young one followed me even to the incloſure. I lifted the kid over the pales, and would willing have kept it alive; but finding it could not be brought to eat, I was forced to ſlay it alſo for my own ſubſiſtence.

Thus entered into as ſtrange a ſcene of life as ever any man was in, I had moſt melancholy apprehenſions concerning my deplorable condition: and many times the tears would plentifully run down my face, when I conſidered how I was debarred from all communication with human kind. Yet while theſe deſponding cogitations would ſeem to make me accuſe Providence, other good thoughts would interpoſe and reprove me after this manner: Well, ſuppoſing you are deſolate, is it not better to be ſo than totally periſh? Why were you ſingled out to be ſaved, and the reſt deſtroyed? Why ſhould you complain, when not only your life is preſerved, but the ſhip driven even into your reach, in order to take what was neceſſary out of her for your ſubſiſtence? But to proceed. It was, by the account I kept, the 30th of September, when I firſt landed on this iſland. About twelve days after, fearing leſt I ſhould loſe my reckoning of time, nay, even forget the Sabbath-days, for want of pen, ink, and paper, I carved with a knife upon a large poſt, in great letters, and ſet it up, in the ſimilitude of a croſs, on the ſea-ſhore where I landed, *I came on ſhore* Sept. 30, 1659. Every day I cut a notch with my knife on the ſides of this ſquare poſt, and that on Sabbath was as long again as the reſt; and every firſt day of the month as long again as that long one. In this manner I kept my calendar, weekly, monthly, or yearly reckoning of time. But had I made a more ſtrict ſearch (as afterwards I did) I needed not have ſet up this mark; for among the parcels belonging to the gunner, carpenter, and captain's mate, I found thoſe very things I wanted; particularly pens, ink, and paper; alſo I found two or three compaſſes, ſome mathematical inſtruments, dials, preſpective glaſſes, books of navigation, three Engliſh bibles, and ſeveral other good books, which I carefully put up. Here I cannot but call to mind our having a dog and two cats on board, whom I made inhabitants with me in my caſtle. Tho' one might think I had all the neceſſaries that were deſirable, yet ſtill I found ſeveral things wanting. My ink was daily waſting: I wanted needles, pins, and thread to mend or keep my clothes together; and

particularly a ſpade, pick-axe, or ſhovel; to remove the earth. It was a year before I finiſhed my little bulwark; and having ſome intervals of relaxation, after my daily wandering abroad for proviſion, I drew up this plan, alternately, as creditor and debtor, to remind me of the miſeries and bleſſings of my life, under ſo many various circumſtances.

EVIL.	GOOD.
I am caſt upon a deſolate iſland, having no hopes, no proſpect of a welcome deliverance.	*But yet I am preſerved, while my companions are periſhed in the raging ocean.*
How miſerably am I ſingled out from the enjoyment or company of all mankind.	*Yet ſet apart to be ſpared from death. And he, who has ſo preſerved me, can deliver me from this condition.*
Like an hermit (rather ſhould I ſay a lonely anchorite) am I forced from human converſation.	*However, I have food to eat, and even a happy proſpect of ſubſiſtence whilſt life endures.*
My clothes after ſome time will be worn out: and then I ſhall have none to cover me.	*At preſent I enjoy what is abſolutely needful: and the climate is ſo hot, that had I never ſo many, I ſhould hardly wear them.*
When my ammunition is waſted, then ſhall I remain without any defence againſt wild men and beaſts.	*Yet if it does, I ſee no danger of any to hurt me, as in Africa: And what if I had been caſt away upon that coaſt.*
I have no creature, no ſoul to ſpeak to: none to beg aſſiſtance from. Some comfort would it be to reſound my woes where I am underſtood, and beg aſſiſtance where I might hope for relief.	*Is there not God to converſe to, and is not he able to relieve thee? Already has he afforded thee ſuſtenance, and put it in thy power to provide for thyſelf till he ſends thee a deliverance.*

And now eaſing my mind a little by theſe reflections, I began to render my life as eaſy as poſſible.

I muſt here add, to the deſcription I have given of my habitation, that having raiſed a turf-wall againſt the outſide of it, I thatched it ſo cloſe, as might keep it from the inclemency of the weather; I alſo improved it within, enlarged my cave, and made a paſſage and door in the rock which came out beyond the pale of my fortification. I next proceeded to make a chair and table, and ſo bagan t

ſtudy ſuch mechanical arts as ſeemed to me practicable. When I wanted a plank or board, I hewed down a tree with my hatchet, making it as thin with my axe as poſſible, and then ſmooth enough with an adz to anſwer my deſigns: Yet though I could make no more this way than one board out of a tree, in length of time I got boards enough to ſhelter all my ſtores, every thing being regularly placed, and my guns ſecurely hanging againſt the ſide of the rock. This made it a very pleaſant ſight to me, as being the reſult of vaſt labour and diligence: which leaving for a while, and me to the enjoyment of, I ſhall give the reader an account of my Journal from the day of my landing, till the fixing and ſettling of my habitation, as heretofore ſhown.

JOURNAL.

SEptember 30th, 1659, I unhappy Robinſon Cruſoe, having ſuffered ſhipwreck, was driven on this deſolate Iſland, which I named the Deſolate Iſland of Deſpair, the reſt being ſwallowed up in the tempeſtuous ocean. The next day I ſpent in conſideration of my unhappy circumſtances, having no proſpect but of death, either to be ſtarved with hunger, or devoured with beaſts or mercileſs ſavages.

Oct. 1. That morning, with great comfort, I beheld the ſhip drove aſhore. Some hopes I had, that when the ſtorm was abated, I might be able to get ſome food and neceſſaries out of her; which I conceived were not damaged, becauſe the ſhip did ſtand upright. At this time I lamented the loſs of my companions, and our misfortune in leaving the veſſel. When I perceived the ſhip as it were lie dry, I waded through the ſands, then ſwam aboard, the weather being very rainy, and with ſcarcely any wind.

To the 14th of this month, my time was employed in making voyages, every tide getting what I could out of the ſhip. The weather very wet and uncertain.

Oct. 20. My raft and all the goods thereon were overſet; yet I recovered moſt again at low water.

Oct. 25. It blew hard, and rained night and day, when the ſhip went in pieces, ſo that nothing was ſeen of her but the wreck at low water. This day I ſecured my goods from the inclemency of the weather.

Oct. 26. I wandered to ſee where I could find a place convenient for my abode. I fixed upon a rock in the evening, marked out a half-moon, intending to erect a wall, fortified with piles, lined within with pieces of cables, and covered with turf.

Nov. 1. I erected my tent under a rock, and took up my lodgings very contentedly in a hammock that night.

Nov. 2. This day I fenced myſelf in with timber, cheſts, and boards.

Nov. 3. I ſhot two wild fowl, reſembling ducks, which were good to eat, and in the afternoon made me a table.

Nov. 4. I began to live regularly. In the morning I allowed myſelf two or three hours to walk out with my gun: I then worked till near eleven o'clock, and afterwards refreſhed myſelf with what I had to eat. From twelve to two I would lie down to ſleep. Extremely ſultry weather. In the evening go to work again.

Nov. 5. Went out with my gun and dog, ſhot a wild cat with a ſoft ſkin, but her fleſh was good for nothing. The ſkins of thoſe I killed, I preſerved. In my return, I perceived many wild birds, and was terrified by ſome ſeals which made off to ſea.

Nov. 6. Completed my table.

Nov. 7. Fair weather. I worked till the 12th, but omitted the 11th, which, according to my calculation, I ſuppoſed to be Sunday.

Nov. 13. Rain in abundance, which, however, much cooled the earth; with thunder and lightning, cauſed in me a terrible ſurpriſe. The weather clearing, I ſecured my powder in ſeparate parcels.

Nov. 14.—16. I made little boxes for my powder, lodging them in ſeveral places. I alſo ſhot a large fowl, which proved excellent meat.

Nov. 17. I began to dig in the rock, yet was obliged to deſiſt for want of a pick axe, ſhovel, and wheel-barrow. Iron crows I cauſed to ſupply the place of the firſt; but but with all my art I could not make a wheel-barrow.

Nov. 18. It was my fortune to find a tree, reſembling what Brazilians call an iron tree. I had like to have ſpoiled my axe with cutting it, being very hard and exceeding heavy; yet with much labour and induſtry, I made a ſort of a ſpade out of it.

Nov. 23. Theſe tools being made, I daily carried on my buſineſs; eighteen days I allowed for enlarging my cave,

that it might ſerve me, not only for a warehouſe, but kitchen, parlour, and cellar. I commonly lay in the tent, unleſs the weather was rainy that I could not lie dry. So wet would it be at certain ſeaſons, that I was obliged to cover all within the pale with long poles, in the form of rafters, leaning againſt the rock, and loaded them with flags and large leaves of trees, reſembling a thatch.

Dec. 10. No ſooner did I think my habitation finiſhed, but ſuddenly a great deal of the top broke in, ſo that it was a mercy I was not buried in the ruins. This occaſioned a great deal of pains and trouble to me, before I could make it firm and durable.

Dec. 17. I nailed up ſome ſhelves and drove nails and ſtaples in the wall and poſts to hang things out of the way.

Dec. 20. Every thing I got into its place, then made a ſort of a dreſſer, and another table.

Dec. 24, 25. Rain in abundance.

Dec. 26. Very fair weather.

Dec. 27. I chanced to light on ſome goats, ſhot one, and wounded another. I led it home in a ſtring, bound up its leg, and cured it in a little time: at length it became ſo tame and familiar as to feed before the door, and follow me where I pleaſed. This put me in mind to bring up tame creatures, in order to ſupply me with food after my ammunition was ſpent.

Dec. 28, 29, 30. The weather being exceſſive hot, with little air, obliged me, for the moſt part, to keep within doors.

Jan. 1. Still ſultry, However, obliged by neceſſity, I went out with my gun, and found a great ſtore of goats in the vallies; they were exceedingly ſhy, nor could my dog hunt them down.

Jan. 3, to 14. My employment this time was to finiſh the wall before deſcribed, and ſearch the iſland. I diſcovered a kind of pigeons like our houſe-pigeons in a neſt among the rocks. I brought them home, nurſed them till they could fly, and then they left me. After this, I ſhot ſome, which proved excellent food. Some time I ſpent vainly in contriving to make a caſk; I may well ſay it was vain, becauſe I could neither joint the ſtaves, nor fix the heads, ſo as to make it tight: So, leaving that, took ſome goat's tallow I had by me, and a little okum for the wick, and provided myſelf with a lamp, which ſerved me inſtead of candles.

But now a very ſtrange event happened. For being in the height of my ſearch, what ſhould come into my hand, but a bag, which was uſed to hold corn (as I ſuppoſed) for the fowls; ſo immediately reſolving to put gunpowder in it, I ſhook all the huſks and dirt upon one ſide of the rock, little expecting what the conſequence would be. The rain had fallen plentifully a few days before; and about a month after, to my great amazement, ſomething began to look out very green aud flouriſhing; and when I came to view it more nicely, every day as it grew, I found about ten or twelve ears of green barley appeared in the very ſame ſhape and make as that in England.

I can ſcarce expreſs the agitations of my mind at this ſight. Hitherto I had looked upon the actions of this life no otherwiſe than only as the events of blind chance and fortune. But now, the appearance of this barley, flouriſhing in a barren ſoil, and my ignorance in not conceiving how it ſhould come there, made me conclude, *that miracles were not yet ceaſed:* nay, I even thought that God had appointed it to grow there without any ſeed, purely for my ſuſtenance in this miſerable and deſolate iſland. And indeed ſuch great effect this had upon me, that it often made me melt into tears, through a grateful ſenſe of God's mercies; and the greater ſtill was my thankfulneſs, when I perceived about this little field of barley, ſome rice ſtalks, alſo wonderfully flouriſhing.

While thus pleaſed in mind, I concluded there muſt be more corn in the iſland; and therefore made a diligent ſearch narrowly among the rocks: but not being able to find any, on a ſudden it came into mind, how I had ſhaken the huſks of corn out of the bag, and then my admiration ceaſed, with my gratitude to the divine Being, *as thinking it was but natural*, and not to be conceived a miracle: though even the manner of its preſervation might have made me own it as a wonderful event of God's kind providence.

It was about the latter end of June when the ears of this corn ripened, which I laid up very carefully together with 20 or 30 ſtalks of rice, expecting one day I ſhould reap the fruit of my labour; yet four years were expired before I could allow myſelf to eat any barley bread, and much longer time before I had any rice. After this, with indefatigable pains and induſtry for three or four months,

at laſt I finiſhed my wall on the 14th of April, having no way to go into it, but by a ladder againſt the wall.

April 16. I finiſhed my ladder, and aſcended it; afterwards pulled it up, then let it down on the other ſide, and deſcended into my new habitation, where I had ſpace enough, and ſo fortified, that nothing could attack me, without ſcaling the walls.

But what does all human pains and induſtry avail, if the bleſſing of God does not crown our labours? Or who can ſtand before the Almighty, when he ſtretcheth forth his arm? For one time as I was at the entrance of my cave, there happened ſuch a dreadful earthquake, that not only the roof of the cave came rumbling about my ears, but the poſts ſeemed to crack terribly at the ſame time. This put me in great amazement; and running to the ladder, and getting over the wall, I then plainly knew it was an earthquake, the place I ſtood on ſuſtaining three terrible ſhocks in leſs than three minutes. But judge of my terror when I ſaw the top of a great rock roll into the ſea; I then expected the iſland would be ſwallowed up every moment: And what made the ſcene ſtill more dreadful, was to ſee the ſea thrown into the moſt violent agitations and diſorders by this tremendous accident.

For my part I ſtood like a criminal at the place of execution ready to expire. At the moving of the earth, I was, as it were, ſea-ſick; and very much afraid leſt the rock, under which was my fence and habitation, ſhould overwhelm me and it in a laſting tomb.

When the third dreadful ſhock had ſpent itſelf, my ſpirits began to revive; yet ſtill I would not venture to aſcend the ladder, but continued ſitting, not knowing what I ſhould do. So little grace had I then, as only to ſay *Lord have mercy upon me!* and no ſooner was the earthquake over, but that pathetic prayer left me.

It was not long after, when a horrible tempeſt aroſe, at the ſame time attended with a hurricane of wind. The ſea ſeemed mountains high, and the waves rolled ſo impetuouſly, that nothing could be perceived but froth and foam. Three hours did this ſtorm continue, and in ſo violent a manner, as to tear the very trees up by the roots, which was ſucceeded by abundance of rain. When the tempeſt was over I went to my tent; but the rain coming on in a furious manner, I was obliged to take ſhelter in the cave, where I was forced to cut a channel through my for-

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It was about the latter end of June when the ears of this corn ripened, which I laid up very carefully together with 20 or 30 ſtalks of rice, expecting one day I ſhould reap the fruit of my labour; yet four years were expired before I could allow myſelf to eat any barley bread, and much longer time before I had any rice. After this, with indefatigable pains and induſtry for three or four months,

at laſt I finiſhed my wall on the 14th of April, having no way to go into it, but by a ladder againſt the wall.

April 16. I finiſhed my ladder, and aſcended it; afterwards pulled it up, then let it down on the other ſide, and deſcended into my new habitation, where I had ſpace enough, and ſo fortified, that nothing could attack me, without ſcaling the walls.

But what does all human pains and induſtry avail, if the bleſſing of God does not crown our labours? Or who can ſtand before the Almighty, when he ſtretcheth forth his arm? For one time as I was at the entrance of my cave, there happened ſuch a dreadful earthquake, that not only the roof of the cave came rumbling about my ears, but the poſts ſeemed to crack terribly at the ſame time. This put me in great amazement; and running to the ladder, and getting over the wall, I then plainly knew it was an earthquake, the place I ſtood on ſuſtaining three terrible ſhocks in leſs than three minutes. But judge of my terror when I ſaw the top of a great rock roll into the ſea; I then expected the iſland would be ſwallowed up every moment: And what made the ſcene ſtill more dreadful, was to ſee the ſea thrown into the moſt violent agitations and diſorders by this tremendous accident.

For my part I ſtood like a criminal at the place of execution ready to expire. At the moving of the earth, I was, as it were, ſea-ſick; and very much afraid leſt the rock, under which was my fence and habitation, ſhould overwhelm me and it in a laſting tomb.

When the third dreadful ſhock had ſpent itſelf, my ſpirits began to revive; yet ſtill I would not venture to aſcend the ladder, but continued ſitting, not knowing what I ſhould do. So little grace had I then, as only to ſay *Lord have mercy upon me!* and no ſooner was the earthquake over, but that pathetic prayer left me.

It was not long after, when a horrible tempeſt aroſe, at the ſame time attended with a hurricane of wind. The ſea ſeemed mountains high, and the waves rolled ſo impetuouſly, that nothing could be perceived but froth and foam. Three hours did this ſtorm continue, and in ſo violent a manner, as to tear the very trees up by the roots, which was ſucceeded by abundance of rain. When the tempeſt was over I went to my tent; but the rain coming on in a furious manner, I was obliged to take ſhelter in the cave, where I was forced to cut a channel through my for-

tification to let the water out. It continued raining all that night, and ſometime the next day. Theſe accidents made me reſolve, as ſoon as the weather cleared up, to build me a little hut in ſome open place, walled round to defend me from wild creatures and ſavages; not doubting but, at the next earthquake, the mountain would fall upon my habitation and me, and ſwallow up all in its bowels.

April 16,—20. Theſe days I ſpent in contriving how and in what manner I ſhould fix my place of abode. All this while I was under the moſt dreadful apprehenſions. When I looked round my habitation, every thing I found in its proper place. I had ſeveral reſolutions whether I ſhould move or not; but at length reſolved to ſtay where I was, till I found out a convenient place where I might pitch my tent.

April 22. When I began to put my reſolutions in practice, I was ſtopt for want of tools and inſtruments to work with. Moſt of my axes and hatchets were uſeleſs, occaſioned by cutting the hard timber that grew on the iſland. It took me up a full week to make my grindſtone of uſe to me; and at laſt I found out a way to turn it about with my foot, by help of a wheel and a ſtring.

April 28, 29. Theſe days were ſpent in grinding my tools.

April 30. My bread falling ſhort, I allowed myſelf but one biſcuit a-day.

May 1. As I walked along the ſea-ſhore, I found a barrel of gunpowder, and ſeveral pieces of the wreck, the ſea had flung up. Having ſecured thoſe, I made to the ſhip, whoſe ſtern was torn off, and waſhed a great diſtance aſhore; but the reſt lay in the ſands. This I ſuppoſe was occaſioned by the earthquake. I now reſolved to keep my old place of abode: and alſo to go to the ſhip that day, but then found it impoſſible.

May 3. This day I went on board, and with my ſaw ſawed off one of the beams, which kept her quarter-deck. I then cleared the ſand till flood.

May 4. I caught ſome fiſh, but they were not wholeſome. The ſame day I alſo catched a young dolphin.

May 5. This day I alſo repaired to the wreck, and ſawed another piece of timber; and when the flood came, I made a float of three great planks, which were driven aſhore by the tide.

May 6, 7, 8, 9. Theſe days I brought off the iron bolts, opened the deck with the iron crow, and carried two planks to land, having made a way into the very middle of the wreck.

May 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. All this time I ſpent in bringing off great quantities of iron and timber.

May 15. Took me two hatchets on purpoſe to cut off ſome lead from the roll, but all in vain, for it lay too low under water.

May 16. I omitted going to the wreck this day; for employing myſelf in looking for pigeons, I outſtaid my time.

May 17. I perceived ſeveral pieces of the wreck driven aſhore, which I found belonged to the head of the ſhip.

May 24. To this day I worked on the wreck, and with great difficulty looſened ſome things ſo much with the crow, that at the firſt flowing tide ſeveral caſks floated out, and many of the ſeamens' cheſts; yet that day nothing came to land but pieces of timber, and a hogſhead which had ſome Brazil pork in it. I continued working to the 15th of June; (except neceſſary times for food and reſt) and had I known how to have built a boat, I had timber and planks enough: I had alſo near 100 weight of ſheet lead.

June 16. As I was wandering towards the ſea ſide, I found a large tortoiſe or turtle, being the firſt I had ſeen on the iſland, though, as I afterwards found, there were many on the other ſide of it.

June 17. This day I ſpent in cooking it, found in her threeſcore eggs, and her fleſh the moſt ſavoury and pleaſant I ever taſted in my life.

June 18. I ſtaid within this day, there being a continual rain: and it was ſomewhat more chilly and cold than uſual.

June 19. Exceeding bad, taken with a trembling and ſhivering.

June 20. Awake all night, my head racked with pain, and feveriſh.

June 21. Sick unto death, and terrified with the diſmal apprehenſions of my condition. Prayed to God more frequently, but very confuſedly.

June 22. Something better, but ſtill uneaſy in my mind.

June 23. Again relapſed much as before.

June 24. Mended a ſecond time.

June 25. A violent ague for ſeven hours, cold and hot fits, ſucceeded with faint ſweats.

June 26. Better, but very weak; yet I ſcrambled out, ſhot a ſhe-goat, brought it home, and broiled ſome of it: I would willingly have ſtewed it, and made ſome broth, but had no pot.

June 27. All this day I was afflicted with an ague; thirſty, yet could not help myſelf to water: Prayed to God in theſe words: "Lord in pity, look upon me: Lord "have mercy upon me: have mercy upon me!" After this I fell aſleep, which I found had much refreſhed me when I awaked. I fell aſleep a ſecond time, and fell into this ſtrange and terrible ſort of dream.

Methought I was ſitting on the ſame ſpot of ground at the outſide of the wall where I ſat when the ſtorm blew after the earthquake; and that I ſaw a man deſcending from a great black cloud, and light upon the ground. He was all over as bright as a flaſh of fire that a little before ſurrounded him; his countenance inconceivably terrible; the earth as it were trembled when he ſtept upon the ground, and flaſhes of fire ſeemed to fill all the air. No ſooner I thought him landed upon the earth, but with a long ſpear, or other weapon, he made towards me; but firſt aſcending a riſing ground, his voice added to my amazement, when I thought I heard him pronounce theſe dreadful words, "Unhappy wretch! ſeeing all theſe "things have not brought thee to repentance, thou ſhalt "immediately die." In pronouncing this dreadful ſentence, I thought he went to kill me with the ſpear that was in his hand.

Any body may think it impoſſible for me to expreſs the horrors of my mind at this viſion: and even when I awaked, this very dream made a deep impreſſion upon my mind. The little divine knowledge I had, I received from my father's inſtructions, and that was worn out by an uninterrupted ſeries of ſeafaring impiety for eight years ſpace. Except what ſickneſs forced from me, I do not remember I had one thought of lifting up my heart towards God; but rather had a certain ſtupidity of ſoul, not having the leaſt ſenſe of fear of the omnipotent Being when in diſtreſs, nor of gratitude to him for his deliverances. Nay, when I was on the deſperate expedition on the deſert African ſhore, I cannot remember I had one thought of what would become of me, or to beg his conſolation and aſſiſtance in my ſufferings and diſtreſs. When the Portugal captain took me up, and honourably uſed me: nay, farther, when I was even delivered from drowning by eſcaping to this iſland, I never looked upon it as a judgment, but only ſaid I was an unfortunate dog, and that's all. Indeed, ſome ſecret tranſports of ſoul I had, which

was not through grace, but only a common flight of joy, that I was yet alive, when my companions were all drowned, and no other joy could I conceive but what is common with the ſailors over a bowl of punch, after they have eſcaped the greateſt dangers.

The likelihood of wanting for neither food nor conveniences, might have called upon me for a thankful acknowledgment to Providence. Indeed, the growth of my corn touched me with ſome ſenſe; but that ſoon wore off again. The terrible earthquake pointed to me, as it were, the finger of God, but my dreadful amazement continued no longer than its duration. But now, when my ſpirits began to ſink under the burthen of a ſtrong diſtemper, and I could leiſurely view the miſeries of death preſent themſelves before my eyes, then my awakened conſcience began to reproach me with my paſt life, in which I had ſo wickedly provoked the juſtice of God to pour down his vengeance upon me.

Such reflections as theſe oppreſſed me even in the violence of diſtemper. Some prayers I uttered, which only proceeded from my fear of death. But when I conſidered my father's advice and prophecy, I could not forbear weeping; for, he told me, "That, if I did perſiſt in my "folly, I ſhould not only be deprived of God's bleſſing, "but have time enough to reflect upon my deſpiſing his in-"ſtructions, and this in a wretched time, when none could "help me." And now, concluding it to be fulfilled, having no ſoul in the iſland to adminiſter any comfort me, I prayed earneſtly to the Lord, that he would help me in this my great calamity And this, I think, was the firſt time I prayed in ſincerity for many years. But now I muſt return to my journal.

June 28. Something refreſhed with ſleep, and the fit quite off, I got up. My dream ſtill occaſioned in me a great conſternation; and, fearing that the ague might return the ſucceeding day, I concluded it time to get ſomething to comfort me. I filled a caſe bottle with water, and ſet it within reach of my bed; and, to make it more nouriſhing and leſs chilly, I put ſome rum in it The next thing I did was to broil me a piece of goat fleſh, of which I ate but little. I was very weak; however, walked about, dreading the return of my diſtemper; and at night I ſupped on three of the turtle's eggs, which I roaſted and ate, begging God's bleſſing therewith.

After I had eaten, I attempted to walk again out of doors with my gun; but was ſo weak, that I ſat down, and looked at the ſea, which was ſmooth and calm. While I continued here theſe thoughts came into my mind.

In what manner is the production of the earth and ſea of which I have ſeen ſo much? From whence came myſelf, and all other creatures living, and of what are we made?

Our beings were aſſuredly created by ſome almighty inviſible power, who framed the earth, the ſea, and air, and all therein. But what is that power?

Certainly it muſt follow, that God has created it all. Yet, ſaid I, if God has made all this, he muſt be the ruler of them all, and what is relating thereto; for certainly the power that makes, muſt indiſputably have a power to guide and direct them. And if this be ſo (as certainly it muſt) nothing can happen without his knowledge and appointment. Then, ſurely, if nothing happens without God's appointment, certainly God has appointed theſe my ſufferings to befal me. And here I fixed my firm belief, that it was his will that it ſhould be ſo; and then proceeded to inquire, why ſhould God deal with me in this manner? Or what have I done thus to deſerve his indignation?

Here conſcience flew in my face, reprehending me as a blaſphemer; crying with a loud and piercing voice, "Unworthy wretch! how dare you aſk what you have done? "Look on your paſt life, and ſee what you have left undone? "Aſk thyſelf, why thou wert not long ago in the merci"leſs hands of death! Why not drowned in Yarmouth "roads, or killed in the fight, when the ſhip was taken by "the Sallee man of war? Why not entombed in the bowels "of wild beaſts on the African coaſt, or drowned here "when all thy companions ſuffered ſhipwreck in the ocean?"

Struck dumb with theſe reflections, I roſe up in a penſive manner, being ſo thoughtful that I could not go to ſleep; and fearing the dreadful return of my diſtemper, it cauſed me to remember, that the Brazilians uſe tobacco for almoſt all diſeaſes. I then went to my cheſt, in order to find ſome, where Heaven, no doubt, directed me to find a cure for both ſoul and body; for there I found one of the bibles, which, till this time, I had neither leiſure nor inclination to look into; I took both the tobacco and that out of the cheſt, and laid them on the table. Several experiments did I try with the tobacco: Firſt, I took a piece of leaf, and chewed it; but it being very green and ſtrong,

almoſt ſtupified me. Next I ſteeped it in ſome rum an hour or two, reſolving when I went to bed to take a doſe of it: and, in the third place, I burnt ſome over a pan of fire, holding my noſe over it ſo long as I could endure it without ſuffocation.

In the intervals of this operation, though my head was giddy and diſturbed by the tobacco, I took up the bible to read. No ſooner did I open it, but there appeared to me theſe words, "Call on me in the day of trouble, and "I will deliver thee, and thou ſhalt glorify me."

At firſt this ſentence made a very deep impreſſion on my heart; but it ſoon wore off again, when I conſidered the word *deliver* was foreign to me. And as the children of Iſrael ſaid, when they were promiſed fleſh to eat, "Can "God ſpread a table in the wilderneſs?" in like manner I began to ſay, Can God himſelf deliver me from this deſolate iſland? However, the words would ſtill return to my mind, and afterwards made a greater impreſſion upon me. As it now was very late, and the tobacco had dozed my head, I was inclined to ſleep; but before I would lie down, I fell on my knees, and implored the promiſe that God had made to me in the holy ſcriptures, that "if I called upon "him in the day of trouble, he would deliver me." With much difficulty I afterwards drank the rum wherein I had ſteeped the tobacco, which flying into my head, threw me into ſuch a profound ſleep, that it was three o'clock the next day before I awaked; or rather, I believe, I ſlept two days, having certainly loſt a day in my account, and I could never tell any other way. When I got up, my ſpirits were lively and cheerful; my ſtomach much better, being very hungry; and in ſhort, no fit returned the next day, which was the 29th, but I found myſelf much altered for the better.

The 30th I went abroad with my gun, but not far, and killed a ſea-fowl or two, reſembling a brand gooſe, which however, I cared not to eat when I brought them home, but dined on two more of the turtle's eggs. In the evening I renewed my medicine, excepting that I did not take ſo large a quantity, neither did I chew the leaf, or hold my head over the ſmoke: but the next day, which was the 1ſt of July, having a little return of the cold fit, I again took my medicine as I did the firſt time.

July 3. The fit quite left me, but very weak. In this condition, I often thought of theſe words, "I will deliver "thee;" and while at ſome times I would think of the

impoſſibility of it, other thoughts would reprehend me, for diſregarding the deliverances I had received, even from the moſt forlon and diſtreſſed condition. I aſked myſelf, what regard have I had to God for his abundant mercies? Have I done my part? "He has delivered me, but I have "not glorified him:"—as if I had ſaid, I had not owned and been thankful for theſe as deliverances, and how could I expect greater? So much did this ſenſibly touch my heart, that I gave God thanks for my recovery from ſickneſs in the moſt humble proſtration.

July 4. This morning I began ſeriouſly to ponder on what is written in the New Teſtament, reſolving to read a chapter every morning and night as long as my thoughts would engage me. As ſoon as I ſet about this work ſeriouſly, I found my heart deeply affected with the impiety of my paſt life; theſe words that I thought were ſpoken to me in my dream revived, "All theſe things have not "brought thee to repentance." After this, I begged of God to aſſiſt me with his Holy Spirit in returning to my duty. One day, in peruſing the ſcriptures, I came to theſe words, "He is exalted a Prince and a Saviour, to give re-"pentance, and to give remiſſion:" Immediately I laid down the book, and, with uplifted hands to heaven, loudly cried, "O bleſſed Jeſus, thou ſon of *David*, Jeſus, thou "exalted Prince and Saviour, give me repentance!" And now indeed I prayed with a true ſenſe of my condition, and a more certain hope, founded on the word of God. Now I had a different ſenſe of theſe words, "Call on me, and "I will deliver thee," that is, from the dreadful load of guilt, which oppreſſed my ſinful ſoul, and not from a ſolitary life, which might rather be called a bleſſing, ſeeing I wanted neither food nor raiment, when compared with living among the human race, ſurrounded with ſo much oppreſſion, miſery, and affliction: In a word, I came to this concluſion, that a deliverance from ſin was a much greater bleſſing than a deliverance from affliction. But again I proceed to my journal.

To the 14th of July, I walked about with my gun, little and little at a time, having been reduced to the greateſt extremity of weakneſs. The applications and experiments I uſed were perfectly new: neither could I recommend them to any one's practice. For though it carried off the fit, it very much weakened me; and I had frequently convulſions in my nerves and limbs for ſome

time. From hence I learned, that going abroad in rainy weather, eſpecially when it was attended with ſtorms and hurricanes of wind, was moſt pernicious to health. I had now been about ten months in the iſland; and as I never had ſeen any of the human kind, I therefore accounted myſelf as ſole monarch; and as I grew better, having ſecured my habitation to my mind, I reſolved to make a tour round my kingdom, in order to make new diſcoveries.

The 15th of July I began my journey, I firſt went to the creek, where I had brought my rafts on ſhore; and travelling farther, found the tide went no higher than two miles up, where there was a little brook of running water, on the bank of which were many pleaſant ſavannahs or meadows, plain, ſmooth, and covered with graſs. On the riſing parts, where I ſuppoſed the water did not reach, I perceived a great deal of tobacco growing to a very ſtrong ſtalk. Several other plants I likewiſe found, the virtues of which I did not underſtand. I ſearched a long time for the Caſſava root, which I knew the Indians in that climate made their bread of; but all in vain. There were ſeveral plants of aloes, though at that time I knew not what they were; likewiſe I ſaw ſeveral ſugar canes, but imperfect for want of cultivation. With theſe few diſcoveries I came back that night, and ſlept contentedly in my little caſtle.

The next day, being the 16th, going the ſame way, but farther than the day before, I found the country more adorned with woods and trees. Here I perceived different fruits in great abundance. Melons in plenty lay on the ground, and cluſters of grapes, ripe and very rich, ſpread over the trees. You may imagine I was glad of this diſcovery, yet ate very ſparingly, leſt I ſhould throw myſelf into a flux or fever. The grapes I found of excellent uſe; for when I had dried them in the ſun, which preſerved them as dried raiſins are kept, they proved very wholeſome and nouriſhing, and ſerved me in thoſe ſeaſons when no grapes were to be had.

The night drawing on apace, I aſcended up a tree, and ſlept very comfortably, though it was the firſt time I had lain out of my habitation. And when the morning came, I proceeded with great pleaſure on my way, travelling about four miles, as I imagined, by the length of the valley, directing my courſe northward, there being a ridge of hills on the ſouth and north ſide of me. At the end of this

valley I came to an opening, where the country ſeemed to deſcend to the weſt; there I found a little ſpring of freſh water, proceeding out of the ſide of the hill, with its cryſtal ſtreams running directly eaſt. And indeed here my ſenſes were charmed with the moſt beautiful landſcape nature could afford; for the country appeared ſo flouriſhing, green, and delightful, that to me it ſeemed like a planted garden. I then deſcended on the ſide of that delicious vale, when I found abundance of cocoa, orange, lemon, and citron trees, but very wild and barren at that time. As for the limes, they were delightful and wholeſome, the juice of which I after uſed to mix in water, which made it very cool and refreſhing. And now I was reſolved to carry home and lay up a ſtore of grapes, limes, and lemons, againſt the approaching wet ſeaſon. So laying them up in ſeparate parcels, and then taking a few of each with me, I returned to my little caſtle, after having ſpent three days in this journey. Before I got home, the grapes were ſo bruiſed that they were utterly ſpoiled: the limes indeed were good, but of theſe I could bring only a few.

July 19. Having prepared two bags, I returned thither again, but to my great ſurprize, found all the grapes ſpread about, trod to pieces, and abundance eaten, which made me conclnde there were wild beaſts thereabouts. To prevent this happening again, I gathered a large quantity of the grapes, and hung them upon the out branches of the tree, both to keep them unhurt, and that they might cure and dry in the ſun: and having well loaded myſelf with limes and lemons, I returned once more to my old place of reſidence.

And now contemplating on the fruitfulneſs of this valley, the pleaſantneſs of its ſituation, its ſecurity from ſtorms, and the delightfulneſs of the adjacent woods, I concluded I was ſettled in the worſt part of the country, and therefore was thinking to remove my habitation.

But when I conſidered again, that though it was pleaſant, it was off from the ſea-ſide, where there was a poſſibility, ſome time or other, a ſhip might either be driven or ſail by; and that to incloſe myſelf among hills and woods muſt certainly put an end to my hopes of deliverance; I reſolved to let my caſtle remain where Providence had firſt aſſigned it. Yet ſo raviſhed was I with this place, that I made me a little kind of bower, ſurrounding it with a double hedge, as high as I could reach, well ſtaked

and filled with bullruſhes: and having ſpent a great part of the month of July, I think it was the firſt of Auguſt before I began to enjoy my labour.

Aug. 3. Perceiving my grapes to be dry, I took them from the trees, and they proved excellent good raiſins of the ſun: the moſt of which I carried to my cave; and happy for me I did ſo, by which I ſaved the beſt part of my winter food.

Aug. 14. This day it began to rain; and though I had made me a tent like the other, yet having no ſhelter of a hill to keep me from ſtorms, nor a cave behind me to retreat to, I was obliged to return to my old caſtle. The rain continued more or leſs every day, till the middle of October; and ſometimes ſo violently, that I could not ſtir out of my cave for ſeveral days. This ſeaſon I found my family to encreaſe; for one of my cats that ran away from me, and which I thought had been dead, returned about Auguſt, with three kittens at her heels, like herſelf; which I thought ſtrange, becauſe both my cats were females and the wild cats of the iſland ſeemed to be of a different kind from our European cats; but from theſe cats proceeded ſuch numbers, that I was forced to kill and deſtroy them as I would do wild beaſts or vermin.

To the 26th of this month, I could not ſtir out, it raining inceſſantly; when beginning to want food, I was compelled to venture twice, the firſt of which I ſhot a goat, and afterwards found a very large tortoiſe. The manner of my regulating my food was thus: a bunch of raiſins ſerved me for my breakfaſt; a piece of goat's fleſh or turtle boiled for my dinner, and two or three turtle eggs for my ſupper. While the rain laſted, I daily worked two or three hours at enlarging my cave, and by degrees worked it on towards one ſide, till I came to the outſide of the hill, and made a door or way out, which came beyond my fence or wall, and ſo I came in and out this way. But after I had done this, I was troubled to ſee myſelf thus expoſed; though I could not perceive any thing to fear, a goat being the biggeſt creature I had ſeen upon this iſland.

Sept. 30. Caſting up my notches on my poſt, which amounted to 365, I concluded this to be the anniverſary of my landing; and, therefore, humbly proſtrating myſelf on the ground, confeſſing my ſins, acknowledging God's righteous judgments upon me, and praying to Jeſus Chriſt

to have mercy upon me, I faſted for twelve hours till the going down of the ſun; and then eating a biſcuit and a bunch of grapes, laid me on the bed, and with great comfort took my night's repoſe. Till this time I never had diſtinguiſhed the Sabbath day; but now I made a longer notch than ordinary for the days of reſt, and divided the weeks as well as I could, though I found I had loſt a day or two in my account. My ink failing ſoon after, I omitted in my daily memorandum things of an indifferent nature, and contented myſelf to write down only the moſt remarkable events of my life. The rainy and dry ſeaſons appeared now regular to me, and experience taught me how to provide for them; yet, in one thing I am going to relate, my experience very much failed me. You may call to mind what I have mentioned of ſome barley and rice which I had ſaved; about thirty ſtalks of the former, and twenty of the latter; and, at that time, the ſun being in its ſouthern poſition, going from me, together with the rains, made me conclude it a very proper ſeaſon to ſow it. Accordingly I dug up a piece of ground, with my wooden ſpade, and dividing it in two parts, ſowed about two thirds of my ſeed, preſerving by me about a handful of each. And happy it was I did ſo; for no rains falling, it was choaked up, and never appeared above the earth till the wet ſeaſon came again, and then part of it grew, as if it had been newly ſown.

I was reſolved ſtill to make another trial; and ſeeking for a moiſter piece of ground near my bower, I there ſowed the reſt of my ſeed in February, a little before the vernal equinox; which having the rainy months of March and April to water it, yielded a noble crop, and ſprang up very pleaſantly. I had ſtill ſaved part of the ſeed, not daring to venture all; and by the time I found out the proper ſeaſons to ſow it in, and that I might expect every year two ſeed-times and two harveſts, my ſtock amounted to above half a peck of each ſort of grain.

No ſooner were the rains over, but the ſtakes which I had cut from the trees, ſhot out like willows the firſt year after lopping their heads. I was ignorant of the tree I cut them from; but they grew ſo regularly beautiful, that they made a moſt lively appearance, and ſo flouriſhed in three years time, that I reſolved to cut more of them; and theſe ſoon growing, made a glorious fence, as afterwards I ſhall obſerve.

And now I perceived that the ſeaſons of the year might generally be divided, not into ſummer and winter, as in Europe, but into wet and dry ſeaſons, as in this manner:

Half	February, March, April,	Rainy, ſun coming near the Equinox.
Half	April, May, June, July, Auguſt,	Dry, ſun getting North of the Line.
Half	Auguſt, September, October,	Wet, the ſun being then come back.
Half	October, November, December, January, February,	Dry, ſun running South of the Line.

The wet ſeaſons would continue longer or ſhorter, as the winds happened to blow. But having found the ill conſequences of being abroad in the rain, I took care beforehand to furniſh myſelf with proviſions: and, during the wet months, ſat within doors as much as poſſible. At this time I contrived to make many things that I wanted, though it coſt me much labour and pains, before I could accompliſh them. The firſt I tried was to make a baſket; but all the twigs I could get, proved ſo brittle, that I could not then perform it. It now proved of great advantage to me, that when a boy, I took a great delight in ſtanding at a baſket-maker's in the ſame town where my father lived, to view them at work; and, like other boys, curious to ſee the manner of their working theſe things, and very officious to aſſiſt, I perfectly learned the method of it, and wanted nothing but the tools. And it coming into my mind, that the twigs of that tree of which I made my ſtakes, might be as tough as ſallow-willow, or oſiers, growing in England, I reſolved to make an experiment, and went the next day to my country ſeat, and found ſome fit for my turn; and after cutting down a quantity with my hatchet, I dried them in my pale, and, when fit to work with, carried them to my cave, where I employed myſelf in making ſeveral ſorts

of baſkets, inſomuch that I could put in whatſoever I pleaſed. It is true, they were not cleverly made, yet they ſerved my turn upon all occaſions.

But ſtill I wanted two neceſſary things. I had no caſk to hold my liquor, except two rundlets almoſt full of rum, a few bottles of an ordinary ſize, and ſome ſquare caſe bottles; neither had I a pot to boil any thing in, only a large kettle, unfit to make broth, or ſtew a bit of meat: I wanted likewiſe at the beginning of this dry ſeaſon a toba-bacco-pipe; but for this I afterwards found an expedient.

I kept myſelf employed in planting my ſecond row of ſtakes. But remembering that when I travelled up to the brook, I had a mind to ſee the whole iſland, I now reſumed my intention, and taking my dog, gun, hatchet, two biſcuit-cakes, a great bunch of raiſins, with a larger quantity of powder and ſhot than uſual, I began my journey. Having paſſed the vale where my bower ſtood, I came within view of the ſea lying to the weſt; when, it being a clear day, I fairly deſcried land, extending from the W. to the S. W. about ten or fifteen leagues, as I concluded; but could not ſay whether it was an iſland or a continent. Neither could I tell what this place might be; only thought it was part of America, and where I might have been in a miſerable condition, had I landed. Again I conſidered, that if this was the Spaniſh coaſt, certainly, one time or other, I ſhould ſee ſome ſhip paſs by; and if it was not, then it muſt be the ſavage coaſt, between the Spaniſh country and Brazil, which abounds with cannibals or man-eaters.

As I proceeded forward, I found this ſide of the iſland much more pleaſant than mine; the field fragant, adorned with ſweet flowers and verdant graſs, together with ſeveral very fine woods. There were parrots in plenty, which made me long for one to be my companion; but it was with great difficulty I could knock one down with my ſtick; and I kept him at home ſome years, before I could get him to call me by my name.

In the low grounds I found various ſorts of hares and foxes, as I took them to be, but much different from thoſe in England. Several of theſe I killed, but never ate them; neither indeed had I any occaſion; for abounding with goats, pigeons, turtle, and grapes, I could defy Leadenhall market to furniſh me a better table. In this journey I did not travel above two miles a day, becauſe I

took ſeveral turns and windings, to ſee what diſcoveries I could make, returning weary enough to the place where I deſigned to reſt all night, which was either in a tree, or in a place which I ſurronnded with ſtakes, that no wild creature might ſuddenly ſurprize me. When I came to the ſea ſhore, I was amazed to ſee the ſplendor of it, Its ſtrand was covered with ſhells of the moſt beautiful fiſh, and conſtantly abounding with innumerable turtles, and fowls of many kinds, which I was ignorant of, except thoſe called penguins. I might have ſhot as many as I pleaſed, but was ſparing of my ammunition, rather chooſing to kill a ſhe-goat, which I did with much difficulty, on account of the flatneſs of the country.

Now, though this journey produced the moſt pleaſing ſatisfaction, yet my habitation was ſo much to my liking, that I did not repine at my being ſeated on the worſt part of the iſland. I continued my journey, travelling about twelve miles further towards the eaſt, where I ſet a great pile on the ſhore for a mark, concluding that my next journey ſhould bring me to the other ſide of the iſland, eaſt from my caſtle, and ſo round till I came to my poſt again. As I had a conſtant view of the country, I thought I could not miſs my way; but ſcarce had I travelled three miles, when I deſcended into a very large valley, ſo ſurrounded with hills covered with wood, that I having no guide but by the ſun, nor even then, unleſs I knew well the poſition of the ſun at that time of the day; and to add to my misfortune, the weather proving very hazy, I was obliged to return to my poſt by the ſea ſide, and ſo backwards the ſame way I came. In this journey my dog ſurpriſed a kid, and would have killed it, had I not prevented him. As I had often been thinking of getting a kid or two, and ſo raiſing a breed of tame goats to ſupply me after my ammunition was ſpent, I took this opportunity of beginning: and, having made a collar for this little creature, with a ſtring made of rope yarn, I brought it to my bower, and there incloſed and left him; and, having ſpent a month in this journey, at length I returned to my old habitation.

Nobody can doubt of my ſatisfaction, when I returned to my little caſtle, and repoſed myſelf in my hammock. After my journey I reſted myſelf a week, which time I employed in making a cage for my pretty poll. I now began to conſider of the poor kid I had left in the bower, and I immediately went to fetch it home. When I came there,

I found the young creature almoſt ſtarved; I gave it ſome food, and tied it as before: but there was no occaſion, for it followed me like a dog; and, as I conſtantly fed it, it became ſo loving, gentle, and fond, that it commenced one of my domeſtics, and would never leave me.

The rainy ſeaſon of the autumnal equinox being now come, I kept the 30th of September in the moſt ſolemn manner, as uſual, it being the third year of my abode in the iſland. I ſpent the whole day in acknowledging God's mercies, in giving him thanks for making this ſolitary life as agreeable, and leſs ſinful, than that of human ſociety; and for the communications of his grace to my ſoul, in ſupporting, comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon his Providence, and hope for his eternal preſence in the world to come.

Indeed, I often did conſider how much more happy I was, in this ſtate of life, than in that accurſed manner of living I formerly uſed: and ſometimes when hunting, or viewing the country, the anguiſh of my ſoul would break out upon me, and my very heart would ſink within me, to think of the woods, the mountains, the deſerts I was in; and how I was a priſoner locked up within the eternal bars and bolts of the ocean, in an uninhabited wilderneſs, without hopes, and without redemption. In this condition I would often wring my hands, and weep like a child: And even ſometimes in the middle of my work this fit would take me; and then I would ſit down and ſigh, looking on the ground for an hour or two together, till ſuch time as my grief got vent in a flood of tears.

One morning, as I was ſadly employed in this manner, I opened my Bible, when immediately I fixed my eyes upon theſe words, "I will never leave thee, nor forſake "thee!" Surely, thought I, theſe words are directed to me or elſe why ſhould they appear juſt at a moment when I am bemoaning my forlorn condition? and if God does not forſake, what matters it, ſince he can make me more happy in this ſtate of life, than if I enjoyed the greateſt ſplendor in the world? But while I was going to return God thanks for my preſent ſtate, ſomething ſeemed to ſhock my mind, as if it had thus ſaid: Unworthy wretch; can you pretend to be thankful for a condition, from which you would pray to be delivered! Here I ſtopt;—and tho' I could not ſay, I thanked the Divine Majeſty for being there, yet I gave God thanks for placing to my view my

former courſe of life, and granting me a true knowledge of repentance. And whenever I opened or ſhut the Bible, I bleſſed kind Providence, that directed my good friend in England to ſend it among my goods without my order, and for aſſiſting me to ſave it from the power of the raging ocean.

And now beginning my third year, my ſeveral daily employments were theſe: *Firſt*, My duty to Heaven, and diligently reading the Holy Scriptures, which I did twice or thrice every day: *Secondly*, Seeking proviſion with my gun, which commonly took me up, when it did not rain, three hours every morning: *Thirdly*, The ordering, curing, preſerving, and cooking what I killed, or catched for my ſupply, which took me up a great part of the day: for, in the middle of the day, the ſun being in its height, it was ſo hot, that I could not ſtir out; ſo that I had only but four hours in the evening to work in: and then the want of tools, of aſſiſtance, and ſkill, waſted a great deal of time to little purpoſe. I was no leſs than two and forty days making a board fit for a long ſhelf, which two ſawyers, with their tools and ſaw-pit, would have cut off the ſame tree in half a day. It was of a large tree, as my board was to be broad. I was three days in cutting it down, and two more in lopping off the boughs, and reducing it to a piece of timber. This I hacked and hewed off each ſide, till it became light to move; then I turned it, made one ſide of it ſmooth and flat as a board from end to end, then turned it downward, cutting the other ſide, till I brought the plank to be about three inches thick, and ſmooth on both ſides. Any body may judge my great labour and fatigue in ſuch a piece of work; but this I went through with patience, as alſo many other things that my circumſtances made neceſſary for me to do.

The harveſt months, November and December, were now at hand, in which I had the pleaſing proſpect of a very good crop. But here I met with a new misfortune; for the goats and hares, having taſted of the ſweetneſs of the blade, kept it ſo ſhort that it had not ſtrength to ſhoot up into a ſtalk. To prevent this, I incloſed it with a hedge, and by day ſhot ſome of its devourers; and my dog, which I had tied to the field-gate, keeping barking all night, ſo frightened thoſe creatures, that I got entirely rid of them.

But, no ſooner did I get rid rid of theſe, than other enemies appeared, to wit, whole flocks of ſeveral ſorts of birds,

who only waited till my back was turned, to ruin me. So much did this provoke me, that I let fly, and killed three of the malefactors; and afterwards ſerved them as they do notorious thieves in England, hung them up in chains as a terror to others. And, indeed, ſo good an effect had this, that they not only forſook the corn, but all that part of the iſland, ſo long as theſe criminals hung there.

My corn having ripened apace, the latter end of December, which was my ſecond harveſt, I reaped it with a ſcythe, made of one of my broad ſwords. I had no fatigue in cutting down my firſt crop, it was ſo ſlender. The ears I carried home in a baſket, rubbing it out with my hands, inſtead of threſhing it: and when my harveſt was over, found my half peck of ſeed produced near two buſhels of rice, and two buſhels and an half of barley. And now I plainly foreſaw, that, by God's goodneſs, I ſhould be furniſhed with bread; but yet I was concerned, becauſe I knew not how to grind or make meal of my corn, nor bread, neither knew how to bake it. I would not, however, taſte any of the crop, but reſolved to preſerve it againſt next ſeaſon, and, in the mean while, uſe my beſt endeavours to provide myſelf with other food.

But where were my labours to end? The want of a plough to turn up the earth, or ſhovel to dig it, I conquered by making me a wooden ſpade. The want of a harrow I ſupplied myſelf, with dragging over the corn a great bough of a tree. When it was growing, I was forced to fence it; when ripe, to mow it, carry it home, thraſh it, part it from the chaff, and ſave it. And, after all, I wanted a mill to grind it, ſieve to dreſs it, yeſt and ſalt to make it into bread, and an oven to bake it. This ſet my brains to work to find ſome expedient for every one of theſe neceſſaries againſt the next harveſt.

And now having more ſeed, my firſt care was to prepare me more land. I pitched upon two large flat pieces of ground near my caſtle, for that purpoſe, in which I ſowed my ſeed, and fenced it with a good hedge. This took me up three months: by which time the wet ſeaſon coming on, and the rain keeping me within doors, I found ſeveral occaſions to employ myſelf; and, while at work, uſed to divert myſelf with talking to my parrot, learning him to know and ſpeak his own name *Poll*, the firſt welcome word I ever heard ſpoke in the iſland. I had been a long time contriving how to make earthen veſſels, which I

wanted extremely: and when I conſidered the heat of the climate, I did not doubt but if I could find any ſuch clay, I might botch up a pot, ſtrong enough, when dried in the ſun, to bear handling, and to hold any thing that was dry, as corn, meal, and other things.

To be ſhort, the clay I found; but it would occaſion the moſt ſerious perſon to ſmile, to ſee what awkward ways I took, and what ugly miſhapen things I made; how many either fell out or cracked by the violent heat of the ſun, and fell in pieces when they were removed; ſo that I think it was two months time before I could perfect any thing: and even then but two clumſy things, in imitation of earthen jars. Theſe, however, I very gently placed in wicker baſkets, made on purpoſe for them, and between the pot and the baſkets, ſtuffed it full of rice and barley ſtraw: and theſe, I preſumed would hold my dried corn, and perhaps the meal, when the corn was bruiſed. As for the ſmaller things, I made them with better ſucceſs; ſuch as little round pots, flat diſhes, pitchers, and pipkins, the ſun baking them very hard.

Yet ſtill I wanted one thing abſolutely neceſſary, and that was an earthen pot, not only to hold my liquid, but alſo to bear the fire, which none of theſe could do. It once happened, that as I was putting out my fire, I found therein a broken piece of one of my veſſels burnt hard as a rock, and red as a tile. This made me think of burning ſome pots; and having no notion of a kiln, or of glazing them with lead, I fixed three large pipkins, and two or three pots in a pile one upon another. The fire I piled round the outſide, and dry wood on the top, till I ſaw the pots in the inſide red-hot, and found that they did not crack at all: and when I perceived them perfectly red, I let one of them ſtand in the fire about five or ſix hours, till the clay melted by the extremity of the heat, and would have run to glaſs, had I ſuffered it; upon which I ſlacked my fire by degrees, till the redneſs abated; and watching them till the morning, I found I had three very good pipkins, and two earthen pots, as well burnt and fit for my turn as I could deſire.

No joy could be greater than mine at this diſcovery. For after this, I may ſay, I wanted for no ſort of earthen ware. I filled one of my pipkins with water to boil me ſome meat, which it did admirably well, and with a piece of kid I made me ſome good broth, as well as my circumſtances would afford me at that time.

The next concern I had was to get me a ſtone-mortar to beat ſome corn in, inſtead of a mill to grind it. Here indeed I was at a great loſs, as not being fit for a ſtone-cutter; and many days I ſpent to find out a great ſtone big enough to cut hollow and make fit for a mortar, and ſtrong enough to bear the weight of a peſtil, that would break the corn without filling it with ſand. But all the ſtones of the iſland being of a mouldering nature, rendered my ſearch fruitleſs; and then I reſolvedto look out for a great block of hard wood; which having found, I formed it with my ax and hammer, and then with infinite labour made a hollow in it, juſt as the Indians of Brazil make their canoes. When I had finiſhed this, I made a great peſtil of iron wood, and then laid them up againſt my ſucceeding harveſt.

My next buſineſs was to make me a ſieve, to ſift my meal, and part it from the bran and huſk. Having no fine thin canvas to ſearch the meal through, I could not tell what to do. What linen I had was reduced to rags: I had goats hair enough, but neither tools to work it, nor did I know how to ſpin it: At length I remembered I had ſome neckcloths of callico or muſlin of the ſailors, which I had brought out of the ſhip, and with theſe I made three ſmall ſieves proper enough for the work.

I come now to conſider the baking part. The want of an oven I ſupplied by making ſome earthen pans very broad, but not deep. When I had a mind to bake, I made a great fire upon my hearth, the tiles of which I had made myſelf; and when the wood was burnt into live coals, I ſpread them over it, till it became very hot; then ſweeping them away, I ſet down my loaves, and whelming down the earthen pots upon them, drew the aſhes and coals all around the outſides of the pots to continue the heat; and in this manner I baked my barley loaves, as well as if I had been a complete paſtry-cook, and alſo made of the rice ſeveral cakes and puddings.

It is no wonder that all theſe things took me up the beſt part of a year, ſince what intermediate time I had was beſtowed in managing my new harveſt and huſbandry; for in the proper ſeaſon I reaped my corn, carried it home, and laid it up in the ear in my large baſkets, till I had time to rub, inſtead of thraſhing it. And now indeed my corn encreaſed ſo much, that it produced me twenty buſhels of barley, and as much of rice, that I not only began to uſe

it freely, but was thinking how to enlarge my barns, and reſolved to ſow as much at a time as would be ſufficient for me for a whole year.

All this while, the proſpect of land, which I had ſeen from the other ſide of the iſland, ran in my mind. I ſtill meditated a deliverance from this place, though the fear of greater misfortunes might have deterred me from it. For, allowing that I had attained that place, I run the hazard of being killed and eaten by the devouring cannibals; and if they were not ſo, yet I might be ſlain, as other Europeans had been, who fell into their hands. Notwithſtanding all this, my thoughts ran continually upon that ſhore. I now wiſhed for my boy Xury, and the long boat, with the ſhoulder of mutton ſail: I went to the ſhips boat, that had been caſt a great way on the ſhore in the late ſtorm. She was removed but a little; but her bottom being turned up by the impetuoſity and fury of the waves and wind, I fell to work with all the ſtrength I had, with levers and rollers I had cut from the wood, to turn her, and repair the damages ſhe had ſuſtained. This work took me up three or four weeks, when finding my little ſtrength all in vain, I fell to undermining it by digging away the ſand, and ſo to make it fall down, ſetting pieces of wood to thruſt and guide it in the fall. But after this was done, I was ſtill unable to ſtir it up, or to get under it, much leſs to move it forwards towards the water, and ſo I was forced to give it over.

This diſappointment, however, did not frighten me. I began to think, whether it was not poſſible for me to make a canoe or Perigua, ſuch as the Indians make of the trunk of a tree. But here I lay under particular inconveniences; want of tools to make it, and want of hands to move it in the water when it was made. However, to work I went upon it, ſtopping all the inquiries I could make, with this very ſimple anſwer I made to myſelf, let's firſt make it, I'll warrant I'll find ſome way or other to get it along when it is done.

I firſt cut down a cedar tree, which was five feet ten inches diameter at the lower part next the ſtump, and four feet eleven inches diameter at the end of twenty-two feet, after which it leſſened for a ſpace, and then parted into branches. Twenty days was I a hacking and hewing this tree at the bottom, fourteen more in cutting off the branches and limbs, and a whole month in ſhapping it like

the bottom of a boat. As for the inſide, I was three weeks with a mallet and chiſſel, clearing it in ſuch a manner, as that it was big enough to carry twenty ſix men, much bigger than any canoe I ever ſaw in my life, and conſequently ſufficient to tranſport me and all my effects to that wiſhed for ſhore I ſo ardently deſired.

Nothing remained now, but, indeed, the greateſt difficulty, to get it into the water, it lying about one hundred yards from it. To remedy the firſt inconvenience, which was a riſing hill between this boat and the creek, with wonderful pains and labour I dug into the ſurface of the earth, and made a declivity. But when this was done, all the ſtrength I had was as inſufficient to move it, as it was when I attempted to move the boat. I then proceeded to meaſure the diſtance of ground, reſolving to make a canal, in order to bring the water to the canoe, ſince I could not bring the canoe to the water. But as this ſeemed to be impracticable to myſelf alone, under the ſpace of eleven or twelve years, it brought me into ſome ſort of conſideration: ſo that I concluded this alſo to be impoſſible, and the attempt altogether vain. I now ſaw, and not before, what ſtupidity it is to begin work before we reckon its coſts, or judge rightly our own abilities to go through with its performance.

In the height of this work my fourth year expired, from the time I was caſt on this iſland. At this time I did not forget my anniverſary; but kept it with rather greater devotion than before. For now my hopes being fruſtrated, I looked upon this world as a thing I had nothing to do with; and very well might I ſay, as father Abraham ſaid unto Dives, "Between me and thee there is a gulf fixed." And indeed I was ſeparated from its wickedneſs too, having neither the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eye, nor the pride of life; I had nothing to covet, being lord, king, and emperor over the whole country I had in poſſeſſion, without diſpute, and without controul: I had loadings of corn, plenty of turtles, timber in abundance, and grapes above meaſure. What was all the reſt to me? the money I had lay by me as deſpicable droſs, which I would freely have given for a groſs of tobacco pipes, or a hand-mill to grind my corn: in a word, the nature and experience of theſe things dictated to me this juſt reflection: That the good things of this world are no farther good to us, than they are

for our uſe; and that whatever we may heap up to give to others, we can but enjoy as much as we uſe, and no more.

Theſe thoughts rendered my mind more eaſy than uſual. Every time I ſat down to meat, I did it with thankfulneſs, admiring the providential hand of God, who, in this wilderneſs had ſpread a table to me. And now I conſidered what I enjoyed, rather than what I wanted, compared my preſent condition with what I at firſt expected it ſhould be; how I ſhould have done, if I had got nothing out of the ſhip; that I muſt have periſhed before I had caught fiſh or turtles; or lived, had I found them, like a mere ſavage, by eating them raw, and pulling them in pieces with my claws, like a beaſt. I next compared my ſtation to that which I deſerved: how undutiful I had been to my parents; how deſtitute of the fear of God; how void of every thing that was good; and how ungrateful for thoſe abundant mercies I had received from heaven, being fed, as it were, by a miracle, even as great as Elijah's being fed by ravens; and caſt on a place where there is no venemous creatures to poiſon or devour me; in ſhort, making God's tender mercies matter of great conſolation, I relinquiſhed all ſadneſs, and gave way to contentment.

As long as my ink continued, which with water I made laſt as long as I could, I uſed to minute down the days of the month, on which any remarkable thing happened. And

Firſt, I obſerved, that the ſame day I forſook my parents and friends, and ran away to Hull, in order to go to ſea, the ſame day afterwards, in the next year, I was taken and made a ſlave by the Sallee rovers:

That the very day I eſcaped out of the wreck of the ſhip in Yarmouth roads, a year after, on the ſame day, I made my eſcape from Sallee in my patron's fiſhing-boat:

And, on the 30th of September, being the day of the year I was born on, on that day twenty-ſix years after, was I miraculouſly ſaved, and caſt aſhore on this iſland.

The next thing that waſted after my ink, was the biſcuit which I had brought out of the ſhip: and though I allowed myſelf but one cake a-day for above a twelvemonth, yet I was quite out of bread for near a year, before I got any corn of my own.

In the next place, my clothes began to decay, and my linen had been gone long before. However, I had preſerved about three dozen of the ſailors chequered ſhirts

which proved a great refreſhment to me, when the violent beams of the ſun would not ſuffer me to bear any of the ſeamen's heavy watch-coats; which made me turn tailor, and, after a miſerable botching manner, convert them to jackets To preſerve my head, I made me a cap of goatſkins, with the hair outwards to keep out the rain; which indeed ſerved me ſo well, that afterwards I made me a waiſtcoat and open kneed breeches of the ſame: And then I contrived a ſort of an umbrella, covering it with ſkins, which not only kept out the heat of the ſun, but rain alſo. Thus being eaſy and ſettled in my mind, my chief happineſs was to converſe with God, in moſt heavenly and comfortable ejaculations.

For five years after this I cannot ſay any extraordinary thing occurred to me. My chief employment was to cure my raiſins, and plant my barley and rice, of both which I had a year's proviſion before-hand. But though I was diſappointed in my firſt canoe, I made it at intermediate times, my buſineſs to make a ſecond, of much inferior ſize; and it was two years before I had finiſhed it. But as I perceived it would no wiſe anſwer my deſign of ſailing to the other ſhore, my thoughts were confined to take a tour round the iſland, to ſee what further diſcoveries I could make. To this intent, after having moved her to the water, and tried how ſhe would ſail, I fitted up a little maſt to my boat, and made a ſail of the ſhip's ſail that lay by me. I then made lockers or boxes at the end of it, to put in neceſſaries, proviſion and ammunition, which would preſerve them dry either from rain, or the ſpray of the ſea; and in the inſide of the boat, I cut me a long hollow place to lay my gun in, and to keep it dry made a flag to hang over it. My umbrella I fixed in a ſtep in the ſtern, like a maſt, to keep the heat of the ſun off me. And now reſolving to ſee the circumference of my little kingdom, I victualled my ſhip for the voyage, putting in two dozen of my barley bread loaves, an earthen pot full of parched rice, a little bottle of rum, half a goat, powder and ſhot, and two watch coats. It was the 6th of November, in the 6th year of my reign, or captivity, that I ſet out in this voyage; which was much longer than I expected, being obliged to put farther out, by reaſon of the rocks that lay a great way in the ſea. And indeed ſo much did theſe rocks ſurpriſe me, that I was for putting back, fearing that if I ventured farther, it would be out of my power to re-

turn: In this uncertainty I came to an anchor juſt off ſhore, to which I waded with my gun on my ſhoulder, and then climbing up a hill, which over-looked that point, I ſaw the full extent of it, and ſo I reſolved to run all hazards.

In this proſpect from the hill, I perceived a violent current running to the eaſt, coming very cloſe to the point; which I the more carefully obſerved, thinking it dangerous, and that when I came to it, I might be drove into the ſea by its force, and not able to return to the iſland: and certainly it muſt have been ſo, had I not made this obſervation; for on the other ſide was the like current, with this difference, that it ſet off at a greater diſtance; and I perceived there was a ſtrong eddy under the land; ſo that my chief buſineſs was to work out of the firſt current, and conveniently get into the eddy. Two days I ſtaid here, the wind blowing very briſkly E. S. E. which being contrary to the current, leaves a great breach of the ſea upon the point; ſo it was neither fit for me to keep too near the ſhore, on account of the breach; nor ſtand at too great a diſtance, for fear of the ſtreams. That night the wind abating, it grew ſo calm, that I ventured out; and here I may be a monument to all raſh and ignorant pilots: For I was no ſooner come to the point, and not above the boat's length from ſhore, but I was got into a deep water, with a current like a mill, which drove my boat along ſo violently, that it was impoſſible for me to keep near the edge of it, but forced me more and more out from the eddy to the left of me; and all I could do with my padlers were uſeleſs, there being no wind to help me.

Now I began to look upon myſelf as quite loſt, ſince, as the current ran on both ſides of the iſland, I was very certain they muſt join again, and then I had no hopes but of periſhing for want in the ſea, after what proviſion I had was ſpent, or before, if a ſtorm ſhould happen to ariſe.

Who can conceive the preſent anguiſh of my mind at this calamity? with longing eyes did I look upon my little kingdom, and thought the iſland the pleaſanteſt place in the univerſe. Happy, thrice happy deſert, ſaid I, ſhall I never ſee thee more? Wretched creature! whither am I going? Why did I murmur at my loneſome condition, when now I would give the whole world to be thither again? While I was thus complaining, I found myſelf to be driven about two leagues into the ſea; however, I laboured till my ſtrength was far ſpent, to keep my boat as far north

as poſſibly I could, to that ſide of the current where the eddy lay on. About noon I perceived a little breeze of wind ſpring up from the S. S. E. which overjoyed my heart; and I was ſtill more elated, when, in about half an hour, it blew a gentle fine gale. Had any thick weather ſprung up, I had been loſt another way: for having no compaſs on board, I ſhould never have found the way to ſteer towards the iſland, if once it had diſappeared; but it proving the contrary, I ſet up my maſt again, ſpread my ſail, and ſtood away northward, as much as I could, to get rid of the current. And no ſooner did the boat begin to ſtretch away, but I perceived, by the clearneſs of the water, a change of the current was near; for, where it was ſtrong, the water was foul; and, where it was clear, the current abated. To the eaſt, I ſoon ſaw, about half a mile, a breach of the ſea upon ſome rocks, which cauſed it it again to ſeparate; and as the main force of it drove away more ſouthwardly, leaving the rocks to the north-eaſt, ſo the other came back by the repulſe of the rocks, making a ſharp eddy, which returned back again to the north-weſt with a very ſwift ſtream.

They who have experienced what it is to be reprived upon the ladder, or to be ſaved from thieves, juſt going to take away their lives, or ſuch as have been in the like calamities with my own, may gueſs my preſent exceſs of joy, how heartily I ran my boat into the ſtream of this eddy, and how joyfully I ſpread my ſail to the refreſhing wind, ſtanding cheerfully before it, with a ſmart tide under foot. By the aſſiſtance of this eddy, I was carried above a league home again, when, being in the wake of the iſland, betwixt the two currents, I found the water to be in a ſort of a ſtand. About four o'clock in the afternoon, I reached within a league of the iſland, and perceived the points of the rock, which cauſed this diſaſter, ſtretching out, as I obſerved before, to the ſouthward, which throwing off the current more ſouthwardly had occaſioned another eddy to the north. But having a fair briſk gale, I ſtretched acroſs this eddy, and in an hour came within a mile of the ſhore, where I ſoon landed to my unſpeakable comfort; and after an humble proſtration, thanking God for my deliverance, with a reſolution to lay all thoughts of eſcaping aſide, I brought my boat ſafe to a little cove, and laid me down to take a welcome repoſe. When I awoke, I was conſi-

dering how I might get my boat home; and coasting along the shore I came to a good bay, which ran up to a rivulet or brook, where, finding a safe harbour, I stowed her as safe as if she had been in a dry dock made on purpose for her.

I now perceived myself not far from the place where before I had travelled on foot; so taking nothing with me, except my gun and umbrella, I began my journey, and in the evening came to my bower, where I again laid me down to rest. I had not slept long before I was awakened in great surprise, by a strange voice that called me several times, "Robin, Robin, Robinson Crusoe, poor Robin! "Where are you, Robinson Crusoe? Where are you? "Where have you been?"

So fast was I asleep at first, that I did not awake thoroughly; but half a sleep and half awake, I thought I dreamed that somebody spoke to me. But, as the voice repeated *Robinson Crusoe* several times, being terribly affrighted, I started up in the utmost confusion; and, no sooner were my eyes fully open, but I beheld my pretty poll sitting on the top of the hedge, and soon knew that it was he that called me; for just in such bewailing language I used to talk and teach him; which he so exactly learned, that he would sit upon my finger, and lay his bill close to my face, and cry, "Poor Robinson Crusoe, where are you? "where have you been? how came you here?" and such like prattle I had constantly taught him. But even though I knew it to be the parrot, it was a great while before I could adjust myself; being amazed how the creature got thither, and that he should fix about that place, and no where else. But now, being assured it could be no other than my honest *Poll*, my wonder ceased, and reaching out my hand, and calling familiarly *Poll*, the creature came to me, and perched upon my thumb, as he was wont, constantly prating to me with "Poor Robinson Crusoe, and "how did I come here, and where had I been?" as if the bird was overjoyed to see me; and so I took him home along with me.

I was now pretty well cured of my rambling to sea; yet I could wish my boat, which had cost me so much trouble and pains, on this side the island once more, but which indeed was impracticable. I therefore began to lead a very retired life, living near a twelvemonth in a very contented manner, wanting for nothing except conversation. As to mechanic labours, which my necessities obliged me to, I

fancied I could, upon occaſion, make a tolerable carpenter, were the poor tools I had to work withal but good. Beſides, as I improved in my earthen ware, I contrived to make them with a wheel, which I found much eaſier and better, making my work ſhapely, which before was rude and ugly. But, I think I was never ſo elevated with my own performance or project, than for being able to make a tobacco pipe, which, though it proved an aukward clumſy thing, yet it was very ſound, and carried the ſmoke perfectly well, to my great ſatisfaction.

I alſo improved my wicker ware, making me abundance of neceſſary baſkets, which though not very handſome, were very handy and convenient to fetch things home in, as alſo for holding my ſtores, barley, rice, and other proviſions.

My powder beginning to fail, made me examine after what manner I ſhould kill the goats or birds to live on after it was all gone. Upon which I contrived many ways to enſnare the goats, and ſee if I could catch them alive, particularly a ſhe-goat with young. At laſt I had my deſire; for, making pit-falls and traps baited with barley and rice, I found one morning, in one of them, an old he-goat, and in the other three kids, one male the other two females.

So boiſterous was the old one, that I could not bring him away. But I forgot the old proverb, "That hunger "will tame a lion:" For, had I kept him three or four days without proviſions, and then given him ſome water, with a little corn, he would have been as tame as a young kid. The other creatures I bound with ſtrings together; but I had great difficulty before I could bring them to my habitation. It was ſome time before they would feed; but, throwing them ſweet corn, it ſo much tempted them, that they began to be tamer. From hence I concluded, that if I deſigned to furniſh myſelf with goat's fleſh, when my ammunition was ſpent, the tamely breeding them up, like a flock of ſheep, about my ſettlement, was the only method I could take. I concluded alſo I muſt ſeparate the wild from the tame, or elſe they would always run wild as they grew up; and the beſt way for this, was to have ſome incloſed piece of ground, well fenced, either with a hedge or pale, to keep them ſo effectually, that thoſe within might not break out, or thoſe without break in. Such an undertaking was very great for one pair of hands; but as there was an abſolute neceſſity for doing it, my firſt care was to

find a convenient piece of ground where there was likely to be herbage for them to eat, water to drink, and cover too keep them from the ſun.

Here again I gave another inſtance of my ignorance and inexperience, pitching upon a piece of meadow land ſo large, that had I incloſed it, the hedge or pale muſt have been at leaſt two miles about. Indeed had it been ten miles, I had time enough to do it in; but then I did not conſider that my goats would be as wild in ſo much compaſs, as if they had had the whole iſland, and conſequently as difficult for me to catch them. This thought came into my head, after I had carried it on, I believe, about fifty yards: I therefore altered my ſcheme and reſolved to incloſe a piece of ground about one hundred and fifty yards in length, and one hundred in breadth, ſufficient enough for as many as would maintain me, till ſuch time as my flock increaſed, and then I could add more ground. I now vigorouſly proſecuted my work, and it took me about three months in hedging the firſt piece; in which time I tethered the three kinds in the beſt part of it, feeding them as near me as poſſible, to make them familiar: and indeed I very often would carry ſome ears of barley or a handful of rice, and feed them out of my hand; by which they grew ſo tame, that when my incloſure was finiſhed, and I had let them looſe, they would run after me for a handful of corn. This indeed anſwered my end; and in a year and a half's time I had a flock of about twelve goats, kids and all; and in two years after, they amounted to forty-three, beſides what I had taken and killed for my ſuſtenance. After which I incloſed five ſeveral pieces of ground to feed them in, with pens to drive them into, that I might take them as I had occaſion.

In this project I likewiſe found additional bleſſings; for I not only had plenty of goat's fleſh, but milk too, which in my beginning, I did not ſo much as think of. And, indeed, though I had never milked a cow, much leſs a goat, or ſeen butter or cheeſe made, yet, after ſome eſſays and miſcarriages, I made me both and never afterwards wanted.

How mercifully can the omnipotent Power comfort his creatures, even in the midſt of their greateſt calamities? How can he ſweeten the bittereſt providences, and give us reaſon to magnify him in dungeons and priſons; what a

bounteous table was here ſpread in a wilderneſs for me, where I expected nothing at firſt but to periſh for hunger?

Certainly a Stoic would have ſmiled to ſee me at dinner. There ſat my royal majeſty, and abſolute prince and ruler of my kingdom, attended by my dutiful ſubjects, whom if I pleaſed, I could either hang, draw, quarter, give them liberty, or take it away. When I dined, I ſeemed a king, eating alone, none daring to preſume to do ſo till I had done. Poll, as if he had been my principal court favorite, was the only perſon permitted to talk with me. My old, but faithful dog, now grown exceeding crazy, and who had no ſpecies to multiply his kind upon, continually ſat on my right hand; while my two cats ſat on each ſide of the table, expecting a bit from my hand, as a principal mark of my royal favour. Theſe were not the cats I had brought from the ſhip; they had been dead long before, and interred near my habitation by mine own hand. But one of them, as I ſuppoſe, generating with a wild cat, a couple of their young I had made tame; the reſt run wild into the woods, and in time grew ſo impudent as to return and plunder me of my ſtores, till ſuch time as I ſhot a great many, and the reſt left me without troubling me any more. In this plentiful manner did I live, wanting for nothing but converſation. One thing indeed concerned me, the want of my boat; I knew not which way to get her round the iſland. One time I reſolved to go along the ſhore by land to her; but had any one in England met ſuch a figure, it would either have affrighted them, or made them burſt into laughter; nay, I could not but ſmile myſelf at my habit, which I think in this place will be very proper to deſcribe.

The cap I wore upon my head, was great, high, and ſhapeleſs, made of a goat's ſkin, with a flap or pent-houſe hanging down behind, not only to keep the ſun from me, but to ſhoot the rain off from running into my neck, nothing being more pernicious than the rain falling upon the fleſh in theſe climates. I had a ſhort jacket of goat's ſkin, whoſe hair hung down ſuch a length on each ſide, that it reached down to the calves of my legs. As for ſhoes and ſtockings, I had none, but made a reſemblance of ſomething, I know not what to call them; they were made like buſkins, and laced on the ſides like ſpatter-daſhes, barbarouſly ſhaped like the reſt of my habit. I had a broad belt of goat's ſkin dried, girt round me with a couple of

thongs, inſtead of buckles; on each of which, to ſupply the deficiency of ſword and dagger, hung my hatchet and ſaw. I had another belt, not ſo broad, yet faſtened in the ſame manner, which hung over my ſhoulder, and at the end of it, under my left arm, hung two pouches, made of goat's ſkin, to hold my powder and ſhot. My baſket I carried on my back, and my gun on my ſhoulder; and over my head a great clumſy ugly goat's ſkin umbrella, which, however, next to my gun, was the moſt neceſſary thing about me. As for my face, the colour was not ſo ſwarthy as the Mulattoes, or as might have been expected from one who took ſo little care of it, in a climate within nine or ten degrees of Equinox. At one time my beard grew ſo long that it hung down above a quarter of a yard; but as I had both razors and ſciſſars in ſtore, I cut it all off, and ſuffered none to grow, except a large pair of Mahometan whiſkers, the like of which I had ſeen wore by ſome Turks at Sallee, not long enough indeed to hang a hat upon, but of ſuch a monſtrous ſize, as would have amazed any in England to have ſeen.

But all this was of no conſequence here, there being none to obſerve my behaviour or habit. And ſo, without fear and without control, I proceeded on my journey the proſecution of which took me up five or ſix days. I firſt travelled along the ſea ſhore, directly to the place where I firſt brought my boat to an anchor, to get upon the rocks; but now having no boat to take care of, I went overland a nearer way to the ſame height that I was before upon; when looking forward to the point of the rock, which lay out, and which I was forced to double with my boat, I was amazed to ſee the ſea ſo ſmooth and quiet, there being no ripling motion, nor current, any more than in other places. This made me ponder ſome time to gueſs the reaſon of it, when at laſt I was convinced that the ebb ſetting from the weſt and joining with the current of water from ſome great river on ſhore, muſt be the occaſion of theſe rapid ſtreams; and that, conſequently, as the winds blew more weſtwardly, or more ſouthwardly, ſo the current came the nearer, or went the farther from the ſhore. To ſatisfy my curioſity, I waited there till evening, when the time of ebb being made, I plainly perceived from the rock the current again as before, with this difference that it ran farther off, near half a league from the ſhore; whereas, in my expedition, it ſet cloſe upon it, furiouſly hurrying

me and my canoe along with it, which at another time it would not have done. And now I was convinced, that, by obſervin the ebbing and flowing of the tide, I might eaſily bring my boat round the iſland again. But when I began to think of putting it in practice, the remembrance of the late danger ſtruck me with ſuch horror, that I changed my reſolution, and formed another, which was more ſafe, though more laborious; and this was to make another canoe, and ſo have one for one ſide of the iſland, and one for the other.

I had now two plantations in the iſland; the firſt my little fortification, fort, or caſtle, with many large and ſpacious improvements: for by this time I had enlarged the cave behind me with ſeveral little caves, one within another, to hold my baſkets, corn, and ſtraw. The p'es with which I made my wall were grown ſo lofty and great as obſcured my habitation. And near this commodious and pleaſant ſettlement, lay my well-cultivated and improved corn-fields, which kindly yielded me their fruit in the proper ſeaſon. My ſecond plantation was that near my country-ſeat, or little bower, where my grapes flouriſhed, and where, having planted many ſtakes, I made incloſures for my goats, ſo ſtrongly fort fied by labour and time, that it was much ſtronger than a wall, and conſequently impoſſible for them to break through. As for my bower itſelf, I kept it conſtantly in repair, and cut the trees in ſuch a manner, as made them grow thick and wild, and form a moſt delightful ſhade. In the centre of this ſtood my tent, thus erected. I had driven four piles in the ground, ſpreading over it a piece of the ſhip's ſail: beneath which I made a ſort of a couch with the ſkins of the creatures I had ſlain, and other things; and having laid thereon one of the ſailor's blankets, which I had ſaved from the wreck of the ſhip, and covering myſelf with a great watch coat, I took up this p'ace for my country retreat.

Very frequently from this ſettlement did I uſe to viſit my boat, and keep her in very good order. And ſometimes I would venture in her a caſt or two from ſhore, but no farther, leſt either a ſtrong current, a ſudden ſtormy wind, or ſome unlucky accident ſhould hurry me from the iſland as before. But now I entreat your attention, whilſt I proceed to inform you of a new, but moſt ſurpriſing ſcene of life which here befel me.

You may eaſily ſuppoſe, that, after having been here ſo long, nothing could be more amazing than to ſee a human creature. One day it happened, that, going to my boat, I ſaw the print of a man's naked foot on the ſhore, very evident on the ſand, as the toes, heels, and every part of it. Had I ſeen an apparition in the moſt frightful ſhape, I could not have been more confounded. My willing ears gave the ſtricteſt attention. I caſt my eyes around, but could ſatisfy neither the one nor the other. I proceeded alternately to every part of the ſhore, but with equal effect; neither could I ſee any other mark, though the ſand about it was as ſuſceptible to take impreſſion, as that which was ſo plainly ſtamped. Thus, ſtruck with confuſion and horror, I returned to my habitation, frightened at every buſh and tree, taking every thing for men; and poſſeſſed with the wildeſt ideas! That night my eyes never cloſed. I formed nothing but the moſt diſmal imaginations, concluding it muſt be the mark of the devil's foot which I had ſeen. For otherwiſe how could any mortal come to this iſland? where was the ſhip that tranſported them? and what ſigns of any other footſteps? though theſe ſeemed very ſtrong reaſons for ſuch a ſuppoſition, yet, (thought I) why ſhould the devil make the print of his foot to no purpoſe, as I can ſee, when he might have taken other ways to have terrified me? why ſhould he leave his mark on the other ſide of the iſland, and that too on the ſand, where the ſurging waves of the ocean might ſoon have eraſed the impreſſion. Surely this action is not conſiſtent with the ſubtilty of Satan, ſaid I to myſelf; but rather muſt be ſome dangerous creature, ſome wild ſavage of the main land over againſt me, that, venturing too far in the ocean, has been driven here, either by the violent currents or contrary winds; and not caring to ſtay on this deſolate iſland, has gone back to ſea again.

Happy indeed, thought I to myſelf, that none of the ſavages had ſeen me in that place: yet I was not altogether without fear, leſt, having found my boat, they ſhould return in numbers and devour me, or at leaſt carry away all my corn, and deſtroy my flock of tame goats. In a word, all my religious hopes vaniſhed, as though I thought God would not now protect me by his power, who had ſo wonderfully preſerved me ſo long.

What various chains of Providence are there in the life of man? How changeable are our affections, according to different circumſtances? We love to day, what we hate

to-morrow; we ſhun one hour, what we ſeek the next. This was evident in me in the moſt conſpicuous manner: For I, who before had ſo much lamented my condition, in being baniſhed from all human-kind, was now even ready to expire, when I conſidered that a man had ſet his foot on this deſolate iſland. But, when I conſidered my ſtation of life, decreed by the infinitely wiſe and good providence of God, that I ought not to diſpute my Creator's ſovereignty, who had an undoubted right to govern and diſpoſe of his creatures as he thinks convenient; and that his juſtice and mercy could either puniſh or deliver me: I ſay, when I conſidered all this, I comfortably found it my duty to truſt ſincerely in him, pray ardently to him, and humbly reſign myſelf to his divine will.

One morning, lying on my bed, theſe words of the ſacred writings came into my mind, "Call upon me in the "day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou ſhalt "glorify me." Upon this ſentence, riſing more cheerfully from my bed, I offered up my prayers in the moſt heavenly manner: and, when I had done, taking up my Bible to read, theſe words appeared firſt in my ſight: "Wait on the Lord, and be of good cheer, and he ſhall "ſtrengthen thy heart: Wait, I ſay, on the Lord." Such divine comfort did this give me, as to remove all cauſe of ſadneſs upon that occaſion.

Thus, after a world of apprehenſions and fears, for three days and nights, I at laſt ventured out of my caſtle, and milked my goats, one of which was almoſt ſpoiled for want of it. I next, (though in great fear) viſited my bower, and milked my flocks there alſo; when, growing bolder, I went down to the ſhore again, and meaſuring the print of the foot to mine, to ſee perhaps whether I myſelf had not occaſioned that mark, I found it much ſuperior in largeneſs; and ſo returned home, now abſolutely convinced, that either ſome men had been aſhore, or that the iſland muſt be inhabited; and therefore that I might be ſurpriſed before I was aware.

I now began to think of providing for my ſecurity, and reſolved in my mind many different ſchemes for that purpoſe. I *firſt* propoſed to cut down my incloſures, and turn my tame cattle wild into the woods, that the enemy might not find them, and frequent the iſland in hopes of killing the ſame. *Seconaly*, I was for digging up my corn fields for the very ſame reaſon, And, *laſtly*, I concluded to de-

moliſh my bower, leſt, ſeeing a place of human contrivance, they might come farther and find out and attack me in my little caſtle.

Such notions did the fear of danger ſuggeſt to me; and I looked I thought like the unfortunate king Saul, when not only oppreſſed by the Philiſtines, but alſo forſaken by God himſelf. And, it is ſtrange, that a little before, having entirely reſigned myſelf, to the will of God, I ſhould now have little confidence in him, fearing thoſe more who could kill this fading body, than him who could deſtroy my immortal ſoul.

Sleep was an utter ſtranger to my eyes that night; yet nature, ſpent and tired, ſubmitted to a ſilent repoſe the next morning, and then joining reaſon with fear, I conſidered, that this delightful and pleaſant iſland might not be ſo entirely forſaken as I might think; but that the inhabitants from the other ſhore might ſail, either with deſign, or from neceſſity, by croſs winds; and, if the latter circumſtance, I had reaſon to believe they would depart the firſt opportunity. However, my fear made me think of a place for retreat upon an attack. I now repented that I had made my door to come out beyond my fortification; to remedy which, I reſolved to make me a ſecond one: I fell to work, therefore, and drove betwixt that double row of trees, which I planted above twelve years before, ſeveral ſtrong piles, thickening it with pieces of timber and old cables, and ſtrengthening the foot of it with earth which I dug out of my cave; I alſo made me ſeven holes, wherein I planted my muſkets like cannon, fitting them into frames reſembling carriages. This being finiſhed with indefatigable induſtry, for a great way every where, I planted ſticks of oſier like a wood, about twenty thouſand of them, leaving a large ſpace between them and my wall, that I might have room to ſee an enemy, and that they might not be ſheltered among the young trees, if they offered to approach the outer wall. And, indeed, ſcarce two years had paſſed over my head, when there appeared a lovely ſhady grove, and in ſix years it became a thick wood, perfectly impaſſible. For my ſafety, I left no avenue to go in or out; inſtead of which I ſet two ladders, one to a part of a rock which was low, and then broke in, leaving room to place another ladder upon that; ſo that when I took thoſe down, it was impoſſible for any man to deſcend without hurting himſelf; and if they had, they

would ſtill be at the outſide of my outer wall. But while I took all theſe meaſures of human prudence for my own preſervation I was not altogether unmindful of other affairs. To preſerve my ſtock of tame goats, that the enemy ſhould not take all at once, I looked out for the moſt retired part of the iſland, which was the place where I had loſt myſelf before mentioned, and there finding a clear piece of land, containing three acres, ſurrounded with thick woods, I wrought ſo hard, that in leſs than a month's time, I fenced it ſo well round, that my ſtocks were very well ſecured in it, and I put therein two he goats and ten ſhe ones.

All this labour was occaſioned purely by fearful apprehenſions, on account of ſeeing the print of a man's foot. And not contented yet with what I had done, I ſearched for another place towards the weſt point of the iſland, where I might alſo retain another flock. Then wandering on this errand more to the weſt of the iſland than ever I had yet done, and caſting my eyes towards the ſea, methought I perceived a boat at a great diſtance; but could not poſſibly tell what it was for want of my perſpective glaſs. I conſidered then it was no ſtrange thing to ſee the print of a man's foot; and, concluding them cannibals, bleſſed God for being caſt on the other ſide of the iſland, wher none of the ſavages, as I thought, ever came. But when I came down the hill to the ſhore, which was the S. W. point of the iſland, I was ſoon confirmed in my opinion; nor can any one deſcribe my horror and amazement, when I ſaw the ground ſpread with ſculls, hands, feet, and bones of human bodies; and particularly, I perceived a ſpace like a circle, in the midſt of which had been a fire, about which I conjectured theſe wretches ſat, and unaturally ſacrificed and devoured their fellow creatures.

The horror and loathſomneſs of this dreadful ſpectacle, both confounded my ſenſes, and made me diſcharge from my ſtomach in an exceſſive manner. I then returned towards my habitation; and, in my way thither ſhedding floods of tears, and falling down on my bended knees, gave God thanks for making my nature contrary to theſe wretches, and delivering me ſo long out of their hands.

Though reaſon and my long reſidence here had aſſured me, that theſe ſavages never came up to the thick woody part of the country, and that I had no reaſon to be apprehenſive of a diſcovery; yet ſuch an abhorrence did I ſtill

retain, that, for two years after, I confined myself only to my three plantations; I mean my castle, country seat, and inclosure in the woods. And though in process of time, my dreadful apprehensions began to wear away, yet my eyes were more vigilant for fear of being surprised, and I was very cautious of firing my gun, lest, being heard by those creatures, they should proceed to attack me I resolved, however, manfully to lose my life if they did, and went armed with three pistols stuck in my girdle: which, added to the description I have given of myself before, made me look with a very formidable appearance.

Thus my circumstances for some time remained very calm and undisturbed: and when I compared my condition to others, I found it far from being miserable. And, indeed, would all persons compare their circumstances, not with those above them, but with those innumerable unhappy objects beneath them, I am sure we should not hear those daily murmurings and complainings that are in the world. For my part, I wanted but few things. Indeed, the terror which the savages had put me in, spoiled some inventions for my own conveniences. One of my projects was to brew me some beer; a very whimsical one indeed, when it is considered that I had neither casks sufficient, nor could I make any to preserve it in; neither had I hops to make it keep, yest to make it work, nor a copper or kettle to make it boil. Perhaps, indeed, after some years, I might bring this to bear, as I had done other things. But now my inventions were placed another way; and day and night I could think of nothing but how I might destroy some of these cannibals, when proceeding to their bloody entertainments; and so saving a victim from being sacrificed, that he might after become my servant. Many were my contrivances after this purpose, and as many more objections occurred, after I hatched them. I once contrived to dig a hole under the place where they made their fire, and put therein five or six pounds of gun-powder, which would consequently blow up all those that were near it; but then I was loth to spend so much upon them, lest it should not do that certain execution I could desire, and but only affright, and not kill them. Having laid this design aside, I again proposed to myself to lie privately in ambush, in some convenient place, with my three guns double loaded, and let fly at them in the midst of their dreadful ceremony; and having killed two or three of them at every shot, fall

upon the reſt ſuddenly with my three piſtols, and not let one mother's ſon eſcape. This imagination pleaſed my fancy ſo much that I uſed to dream of it in the night time. To put my deſign in execution, I was not long ſeeking for a place convenient for my purpoſe, where unſeen I might behold every action of the ſavages. Here I placed my two muſkets, each of which was loaded with a brace of ſlugs, and four or five ſmaller bullets about the ſize of piſtol bullets; the fowling-piece was charged with near a handful of the largeſt ſwan ſhot, and in every piſtol were about four bullets. And thus all things being prepared, no ſooner would the welcome light ſpread over the element, but, *like a giant refreſhed with wine*, as the ſcripture has it, would I iſſue forth from my caſtle, and from a loſty hill, three miles diſtant, view if I could ſee any invaders approach unlawfully to my kingdom. But having waited in vain two or three months, it not only grew very tireſome to me, but brought me to ſome conſideration, and made me examine myſelf, what right I had to kill theſe creatures in this manner.

If (argued I to myſelf) this unnatural cuſtom of theirs be a ſin offenſive to heaven, it belongs to the divine Being, who alone has the vindictive power in his hands, to ſhower down his vengeance upon them. And perhaps he does ſo, in making them become one another's executioners. Or, if not, if God thinks theſe doings juſt, according to the knowledge they conceive, what authority have I to pretend to thwart the decrees of Providence, which has permitted theſe actions for ſo many ages, perhaps from almoſt the beginning of the creation? They never offended me, what right have I then to concern myſelf in their ſhedding one another's blood? And, indeed, I have ſince known, they value no more to kill and devour a captive taken in war, than we do to kill an ox, or eat mutton. I then concluded, it neceſſarily followed, that theſe people were no more murderers than Chriſtians, who many times put whole troops to the ſword, after throwing down their arms. Again I conſidered, that if I fell upon them, I ſhould be as much in the wrong as the Spaniards, who had committed the greateſt barbarities upon theſe people who had never offended them in their whole lives; as if the kingdom of Spain was eminent for a race of men without common compaſſion to the miſerable, a principal ſign of the moſt generous temper: theſe conſiderations made me pauſe, and

made me think I had taken wrong meaſures in my reſolution; I now argued with myſelf, it was better for me never to attack, but to remain undiſcovered as long as I poſſibly could; that an oppoſite conduct would certainly prove deſtructive; for as it was ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed I could kill them all, I might either be overpowered by the remaining, or that ſome eſcaping, might bring thouſands to my certain deſtruction. And, indeed, religion took their part ſo much as to convince me how contrary it was to my duty to be guilty of ſhedding human blood, innocent as to my particular, whatever they are to one another; that I had nothing to do with it, but leave it to the God of all power and dominion, as I ſaid before, to do therein what ſeemed convenient to his heavenly wiſdom. And, therefore, on my knees I thanked the Almighty for delivering me from blood guiltineſs, and begged his protection that I might never fall into their hands.

Thus giving over an attempt which I had raſhly begun, I never aſcended the hill on that occaſion afterwards; I only removed my boat, which lay on the other ſide of the iſland, and every thing that belonged to her, towards the eaſt, into a little cove, that there might not be the leaſt ſhadow of any boat near, or habitation upon the iſland. My caſtle then became my cell, keeping always retired in it, except when I went out to milk my ſhe-goats, and order my little flock in the wood, which was quite out of danger: for ſure I was, that theſe ſavages never came here with expectations to find any thing, and conſequently never wandered from the coaſt; however, as they might have ſeveral times been on ſhore, as well before as after my dreadful apprehenſions, I looked back with horror to think in what ſtate I might have been, had I ſuddenly met them ſlenderly armed, with one gun only loaded with ſmall ſhot; and how great would have been my amazement, if, inſtead of ſeeing the print of one man's foot, I had perceived fifteen or twenty ſavages, who having once ſet their eyes upon me, by the ſwiftneſs of their feet, would have left me no poſſibility of eſcaping? Theſe thoughts would ſink my very ſoul, ſo that I would fall into a deep melancholy, till ſuch time as the conſideration of my gratitude to the divine Being moved it from my heart. I then fell into a contemplation of the ſacred ſprings of Providence; and how wonderfully we are delivered, when inſenſible of it; and when intricated in uncertain mazes or labyrinths of doubt

or heſitation, what ſecret hint directs us in the right way when, we intended to go out of it; nay, perhaps contrary to our buſineſs, ſenſe, or inclination. Upon which, I fixed within me this as a certain rule, never to diſobey thoſe ſecret impreſſions of mind, to the acting or not acting any thing that offered, for which I yet could aſſign no reaſon. But let it be how it will, the advantage of this conduct very eminently appeared in the latter part of my abode on this iſland; I am a ſtranger in determining whence theſe ſecret intimations of Providence derive; yet methinks they are not only ſome proof of the converſe of ſpirits, but alſo of the ſecret communications they are ſuppoſed to have with thoſe that have not paſſed through the gloomy vale of death.

Theſe anxieties of mind, and the care of my preſervation, put a period to all future inventions and contrivances, either for accommodation or convenience. I now cared not to drive a nail, chop a ſtick, fire a gun, or make a fire, leſt either the noiſe ſhould be heard, or the ſmoke diſcover me. And on this account I uſed to burn my earthen ware privately in a cave which I found in the wood, and which I made convenient for that purpoſe; the principal cauſe that brought me here was to make charcoal, ſo that I might bake and dreſs my bread and meat without any danger. At that time a curious accident happened me, which I ſhall now re ate.

While I was cutting down ſome wood for making my charcoal, I perceived a cavity behind a very thick branch of underwood. Curious to look into it, I attained its mouth, and perceived it ſufficient for me to ſtand upright in. But when I had entered, and took a further view, two rolling ſhining eyes, like flaming ſtars, ſeemed to dart themſelves at me; ſo that I made all the haſte out that I could, as not knowing whether it was the devil or a monſter that had taken his reſidence in that place. When I recovered a little from my ſurpriſe, I called myſelf a thouſand fools, for being afraid to ſee the devil one moment, who had now almoſt lived twenty years in the moſt retired ſolitude. And therefore reſuming all the courage I had, I took up a flaming firebrand, and in I ruſhed again. I had not proceeded above three ſteps, when I was more affrighted than before; for then I heard a very loud ſigh, like that of a human creature in the greateſt agony, ſucceeded with a broken noiſe, reſembling words half expreſſed, and then a broken ſigh again. Steping back, Lord!

(thought I to myself) where am I got? into what inchanted place have I plunged myself, such as are reported to contain miserable captives, till death puts an end to their sorrow? And, indeed, in such great amazement was I, that it struck me into a cold sweat; and had my hat been on my head, I believe my hair would have moved it off. But again encouraging myself with the hopes of God's protection, I proceeded forward, and, by the light of my firebrand, perceived it to be a monstrous he-goat, lying on the ground, gasping for life, and dying of mere old age. At first I stirred him, thinking to drive him out, and the poor antient creature strove to get upon his feet, but was not able; so I e'en let him lie still, to affright the savages should they venture into this cave. I now looked round me, and found the place but small and shapeless. At the farther side of it I perceived a sort of an entrance, yet so low, as must oblige me to creep upon my hands and knees to it; so, having no candle, I suspended my enterprise till the next day, and then I came provided with two large ones of my own making.

Having crept upon my hands and feet through this strait, I found the roof higher up, I think about twenty feet. But surely never mortal saw such a glorious sight before! the roof and walls of this cave reflected a hundred thousand lights to me from my two candles, as though they were indented with shining gold, precious stones, or sparkling diamonds. And indeed it was the most delightful cavity or grotto of its kind that could be desired, though entirely dark. The floor was dry and level, and had a kind of gravel upon it; no nauseous venemous creatures to be seen there, neither any damp or wet about it. I could find no fault but in the entrance, and I began to think that even this might be very necessary for my defence, and therefore resolved to make it my most principal magazine. I brought hither two fowling pieces and three muskets, leaving only five pieces at my castle, planted in the nature of cannon. Of the barrel of gunpowder, which I took up out of the sea, I brought away about sixty pounds of good powder, which was not damaged; and this, with a great quantity of lead for bullets, I removed from my castle to this retreat, now fortified both by art and nature.

I fancied myself now like one of the giants of old, who were said to live in caves and holes among the rocks, in-

acceſſible to any but themſelves, or, at leaſt, moſt dangerous to attempt. And now I deſpiſed both the cunning and ſtrength of the ſavages, either to find me out or to hurt me.

But I muſt not forget the old goat, which cauſed my late dreadful amazement. The poor creature gave up the ghoſt the day after my diſcovery; and it being difficult to drag him out, I dug his grave, and honourably entombed him in the ſame place where he departed, with as much ceremony as any Welch goat that has been interred about the high mountain *Snawdmawr*.

I think I was now in the twenty-third year of my reign, and my thoughts much eaſier than formerly, having contrived ſeveral pretty amuſements and diverſions to paſs away the time in a pleaſant manner. By this time my pretty Poll had learned to ſpeak Engliſh, and pronounce his words very articulately and plain; ſo that for many hours we uſed to chat together after a familiar manner, and he lived with me no leſs than twenty-ſix years. My dog which was nineteen years old, ſixteen of which he lived with me, died ſome time ago of mere old age. As for my cats, they multiplied ſo faſt, that I was forced to kill or drive them into the woods, except two or three which became my particular favourites. Beſides theſe, I continually kept two or three houſehold kids about me, which I learned to feed out of my hand, and two more parrots which could talk indifferently, and call Robinſon Cruſoe, but not ſo excellently as the firſt, as not taking that pains with them. I had alſo ſeveral ſea fowls which I had wounded and cut their wings; and growing tame, they uſed to breed among the low trees about my caſtlewalls, all which made my abode very agreeable.

But what unforeſeen events ſuddenly deſtroy the enjoyments of this uncertain ſtate of life when we leaſt expect them! It was now the month of December, in the ſouthern ſolſtice, and particular time of my harveſt, which required my attendance in the fields; when going out pretty early one morning, before it was daylight, there appeared to me from the ſea ſhore, a flaming light, about two miles from me at the eaſt end of the iſland, where I had obſerved ſome ſavages had been before, not on the other ſide, but to my great affliction it was on my ſide the iſland.

Struck with a terrible ſurpriſe, and my uſual apprehenſions, that the ſavages would perceive my improvements, I returned directly to my caſtle, pulled the ladder after me making all things look as wild and natural as I poſſibly could In the next place, I put myſelf into a poſture of defence, loading my muſkets and piſtols, and committing myſelf to God's protection, I reſolved to defend myſelf till my laſt breath. Two hours after, impatient for intelligence, I ſet my ladder up to the ſide of the hill, where there was a flat place, and then pulling the ladder after me, aſcended to the top, where laying myſelf on my belly, with my perſpective glaſs I perceived no leſs than nine naked ſavages, ſitting round a ſmall fire, eating as I ſuppoſed human fleſh, with their two canoes haled on ſhore, waiting for the flood to carry them off again. You cannot eaſily expreſs the conſternation I was in at this ſight, eſpecially ſeeing them near me; but when I perceived their coming muſt be always with the current of the ebb, I became more eaſy in my thoughts, being full convinced, that I might go abroad with ſecurity all the time of flood, if they were not before landed. And, indeed, this proved juſt as I imagined; for no ſooner did they all take boat and paddle away, but the tide made N. W. Before they went off, they danced, making ridiculou poſtures, and geſtures for above an hour, all ſtark naked; but whether men or women, or both, I could not perceive. When I ſaw them gone, I took two guns upon my ſhoulders, and placing a couple of piſtols in my belt, with my great ſword hanging by my ſide, I went to the hill, where at firſt I made a diſcovery of theſe cannibals, and then ſaw there had been three canoes more of the ſavages on ſhore at that place, which with the reſt, were making over to the main land.

But nothing could be more horrid to me, when going to the place of ſacrifice, the blood, the bones, and other mangled parts of human bodies appeared in my ſight: and ſo fired was I with indignation, that I was fully reſolved to be revenged on the firſt that came there, though I loſt my life in the execution. It then appeared to me, that the viſits which they make to this iſland are not very frequent, it being fifteen months before they came again: but ſtill I was very uneaſy, by reaſon of the diſmal apprehenſions of their ſurpriſing me unawares; nor dared I

offer to fire a gun on that ſide of the iſland where they uſed to appear, leſt, taking the alarm, the ſavages might return with many hundred canoes, and then God knows in what manner I ſhould have made my end. Thus was I a year or more before I ſaw any of theſe devouring cannibals again.

But to wave this, the following accident, which demands attention, for a while, eluded the force of my thoughts in revenging myſelf on thoſe Heathens.

On the 16th of May (according to my wooden calendar) the wind blew exceeding hard, accompanied with abundance of lightning and thunder all day, and ſucceeded by a very ſtormy night. The ſeeming anger of the Heavens made me have recourſe to my Bible. Whilſt I was ſeriouſly pondering upon it, I was ſuddenly alarmed with the noiſe of a gun, which I conjectured was fired upon the ocean. Such an unuſual ſurpriſe made me ſtart up in a minute, when, with my ladder aſcending the mountain as before, that very moment a flaſh of fire preſaged the report of another gun, which I preſently heard, and found it was from that part of the ſea where the current drove me away. I could not but then think, that this muſt be a ſhip in diſtreſs, and that theſe were the melancholy ſignals for a ſpeedy deliverance. Great, indeed, was my ſorrow upon this occaſion; but my labours to aſſiſt them muſt have proved altogether vain and fruitleſs. However, I brought together all the dry wood that was at hand, and making a pretty large pile, ſet it on fire on the hill. I was certain they plainly perceived it, by their firing another gun as ſoon as it began to blaze, and after that ſeveral more from the ſame quarter. All night long I kept up my fire: and when the air cleared up, I perceived ſomething a great way at ſea, directly E. but could not diſtinguiſh what it was, even with my glaſs, by reaſon the weather was ſo very foggy out at ſea. However, keeping my eyes directly fixed upon it, and perceiving it did not ſtir, I preſently concluded it muſt be a ſhip at anchor, and ſo very haſty I was to be ſatisfied, that taking my gun, I went to the S. E. part of the iſland, to the ſame rocks where I had been formerly drove away by the current; in which time the weather being perfectly cleared up, to my great ſorrow, I perceived the wreck of a ſhip caſt away upon thoſe hidden rocks I found when I was out with my boat; and

which, by making a kind of an eddy, were the occaſion of my preſervation.

Thus, what is one man's ſafety, is another's ruin; for undoubtedly this ſhip had been driven on them in the night, the wind blowing ſtrong at E. N. E. Had they perceived the iſland, as I now gueſſed they had not, certainly, inſtead of firing their guns for help, they would rather have ventured in their boat, and ſaved themſelves that way. I then thought, that perhaps they had done ſo, upon ſeeing my fire, and were caſt away in the attempt; for I perceived no boat in the ſhip. But then I again imagined, that, perhaps, they had another veſſel in company, which, upon ſignal, ſaved their lives, and took the boat up: or that the boat might be driven into the main ocean, where theſe poor creatures might be in the moſt miſerable condition. But as all theſe conjectures were very uncertain, I could do no more than commiſerate their diſtreſs, and thank God for delivering me, in particular, when ſo many periſhed in the raging ocean.

When I conſidered ſeriouſly every thing concerning this wreck, and could perceive no room to ſuppoſe any of them ſaved, I cannot explain, by any poſſible force of words, what longings my ſoul felt on this occaſion, often breaking out in this manner: O that there had been but two or three, nay even one perſon ſaved, that we might have lived together, converſed with, and comforted one another! and, ſo much were my deſires moved, that when I repeated theſe words, "Oh! that there had been but "one!" my hands would ſo clench together, and my fingers preſs the palms of my hands ſo cloſe, that, had any ſoft thing been between, it would have cruſhed it involuntarily while my teeth would ſtrike together, and ſet againſt each other ſo ſtrong, that it required ſome time for me to part them.

Till the laſt year of my being on this iſland, I never knew whether or not any had been ſaved out of this ſhip. I had the affliction, ſome time after, to ſee the corpſe of a drowned boy come on ſhore, at the end of the iſland which was next the ſhipwreck; there was nothing on him but a ſeaman's waiſtcoat, a pair of open kneed linen drawers, and a blue linen ſhirt, but no particular mark to gueſs what nation he was of. In his pocket were two pieces of eight, and a tobacco-pipe, the laſt of which I preferred much more than I did the firſt. And now the calmneſs of the

ſea tempted me to venture out in my boat to this wreck, not only to get ſomething neceſſary out of the ſhip, but, perhaps, ſome living creature might be on board, whoſe life I might preſerve. This had ſuch an influence upon my mind, that immediately I went home, and prepared every thing neceſſary for the voyage, carrying on board my boat proviſions of all ſorts, with a good quantity of rum, freſh water and a compaſs: ſo putting off, I paddled the canoe along the ſhore, till I came at laſt to the north-eaſt part of the iſland, from whence I was to launch into the ocean; but here the currents ran ſo violently, and appeared ſo terrible, that my heart began to fail me; foreſeeing, that if I was driven into any of theſe currents, I might be carried not only out of the reach or ſight of the iſland, but even inevitably loſt in the boiling ſurges of the ocean.

So oppreſſed was I at theſe troubles, that I gave over my enterprize, ſailing to a little creek on the ſhore, where, ſtepping out, I ſat me down on a riſing hill, very penſive and thoughtful. I then perceived that the tide was turned, and the flood came on, which made it impracticable for me to go out for ſo many hours. To be more certain how the ſets of the tides or currents lay when the flood came in, I aſcended a higher piece of ground, which overlooked the ſea both ways; and here I found, that as the current of the ebb ſet out cloſe by the ſouth point of the iſland, ſo the current of the flood ſet in cloſe by the ſhore of the north ſide; and all that I had to do, was to keep to the north of the iſland in my return.

That night I repoſed myſelf in my canoe, covered with my watch coat inſtead of a blanket, the heavens being my teſter. I ſet out with the firſt of the tide full north, till I felt the benefit of the current, which carried me at a great rate eaſtward, yet not with ſuch impetuoſity as before, as to take from me all government of my canoe; ſo that in two hours time I came up to the wreck, which appeared to me a moſt melancholy ſight. It ſeemed to be a Spaniſh veſſel by its building, ſtuck faſt between two rocks; her ſtern and quarter beaten to pieces by the ſea; her main-maſt and fore-maſt were brought off by the board; that is broken ſhort off. As I approached near, I perceived a dog on board, who, ſeeing me coming, yelped and cried; and no ſooner did I call him, but the poor creature jumped into the ſea, out of which I took him up, almoſt famiſhed with hunger and thirſt; ſo that when I gave him a cake of bread,

no ravenous wolf could devour it more greedily; and he drank to that degree of freſh water, that he would have burſt himſelf, had I ſuffered him.

The firſt ſight I met with in the ſhip, were two men drowned in the cook-room or forecaſtle, incloſed in one another's arms: hence I very probably ſuppoſed, that when the veſſel ſtruck in the ſtorm, ſo high and inceſſantly did the waters break in and over her, that the men not being able to bear it, were ſtrangled by the conſtant ruſhing in of the waves. There were ſeveral caſks of liquor, whether wine or brandy I could not be poſitive, which lay in the lower hold, as were plainly perceptible by the ebbing out of the water, yet were too large for me to pretend to medd e with: likewiſe I perceived ſeveral cheſts, which I ſuppoſed to belong to the ſeamen, two of which I got into my boat, without examining what was in them. Had the ſtern of the ſhip been fixed, and the fore part broken off, I ſhould have made a very proſperous voyage; ſince, by what I after found in theſe two cheſts, I could not otherwiſe conclude, but that the ſhip muſt have abundance of wealth on board; nay, if I muſt gueſs by the courſe ſhe ſteered, ſhe muſt have been bound from the Buenos Ayres, or the Rio de la Plata, in the ſouthern parts of America, beyond the Brazils, to the Havannah, in the gulph of Mexico, and ſo perhaps to Spain. What became of the reſt of the ſailors, I could not certainly tell; and all her riches ſignified nothing at that time to any body.

Searching farther, I found a caſk, containing about twenty gallons, full of liquor, which with ſome labour, I got into my boat; in a cabin were ſeveral muſkets, which I let remain there; but took away with me a great powder horn, with about four pounds of powder in it. I took alſo a fire ſhovel and tongs, two braſs kettles, a copper pot to make chocolate, and a gridiron; all which were extremely neceſſary to me, eſpecially the fire ſhovel and tongs. And ſo with this cargo, accompanied with my dog, I came away, the tide ſerving for that purpoſe; and the ſame evening, about an hour within night, I attained the iſland, after the greateſt toil and fatigue imaginable

That night I repoſed my wearied limbs in the boat, reſolving the next morning to harbour what I had gotten, in my new-found ſubterraneous grotto: and not to carry my cargo home to my antient caſtle. Having refreſhed myſelf, and got all my effects on ſhore, I next proceeded to

examine the particulars; and ſo tapping the caſk, I found the liquor to be a kind of rum, but not like what we had at the Brazils, nor indeed near ſo good. At the opening of the cheſt, ſeveral things appeared very uſeful to me; for inſtance, I found in one a very fine caſe of bottles, containing the fineſt and beſt ſorts of cordial waters; each bottle held about three pints, curiouſly tipt with ſilver. I found alſo two pots full of the choiceſt ſweetmeats, and two more which the water had utterly ſpoiled. There were likewiſe ſeveral good ſhirts exceeding welcome to me, and about one dozen and a half white linen handkerchiefs and coloured neckcloths, the former of which was abſolutely neceſſary for wiping my face in a hot day; and, in the till, I found three bags of pieces of eight, about eleven hundred in all, in one of which, decently wrapt up in a piece of paper, were ſix doubloons of gold, and ſome ſmall bars and wedges of the ſame metal, which I believe might weigh near a pound. In the other cheſt, which I gueſſed to belong to the gunner's mate, by the mean circumſtances that attended it, I only found ſome clothes of very little value, except about two pounds of fine glazed powder, in three flaſks, kept, as I believe, for charging their fowling pieces on any occaſion; ſo that, on the whole, I had no great advantage by this voyage. The money was indeed as mere dirt to me, uſeleſs and unprofitable, all which I would have freely parted with for two or three pair of Engliſh ſhoes and ſtockings, things that for many years I had not worn, except lately thoſe which I had taken off the feet of thoſe unfortunate men I found drowned in the wreck, yet not ſo good as Engliſh ſhoes either for eaſe or ſervice. I alſo found in the ſeaman's cheſt about fifty pieces of eight in royals, but no gold; ſo concluded that what I took from the firſt belonged to an officer, the latter appearing to have a much inferior perſon for its owner. However, as deſpicable as the money ſeemed, I likewiſe lugged it to my cave, laying it up ſecurely, as I did the reſt of my cargo: and after I had done all this, I returned back to my boat, rowing or paddling her along till I came to my old harbour, where I carefully laid her up, and ſo made the beſt of my way to my caſtle. When I arrived there, every thing ſeemed ſafe and quiet: ſo that now my only buſineſs was to repoſe myſelf after my wonted manner, and take care of my domeſtic affairs. But tho' I might have lived very eaſy, as wanting for nothing abolutely needful; yet

ſtill I was more vigilant than uſual upon account of the ſavages, never going much abroad; or, if I did, it was to the eaſt part of the iſland, where I was well aſſured that the ſavages never came, and where I might not be troubled to carry that heavy load of weapons for my defence, as I was obliged to do if I went the other way.

Two years did I live in this anxious condition, in all which time, contrary to my former reſolutions, my head was filled with nothing but projects and deſigns, how I might eſcape from this iſland; and ſo much were my wandering thoughts bent upon a rambling diſpoſition, that had I had the ſame boat that I went from Sallee in, I ſhould have ventured once more to the uncertainty of the raging ocean.

I cannot however but conſider myſelf as one of the unhappy perſons, who make themſelves wretched by their diſſatisfaction with the ſtations which God has placed them in; for, not to take a review of my primitive condition, and my father's excellent advice, the going contrary to which was, as I may ſay, my *original ſin*, the following miſtakes of the ſame nature certainly had been the means of my preſent unhappy ſtation. What buſineſs had I to leave a ſettled fortune, and well ſtocked plantation, improving and increaſing, where, by this time, I might have been worth a hundred thouſand moidores, to turn *ſupercargo* to *Guinea*, to fetch negroes, when time and patience would ſo much enlarged my ſtock at home, as to be able to employ thoſe whoſe more immediate buſineſs it was to fetch them home, even to my own door?

But as this is commonly the fate of young heads, ſo a ſerious reflection upon the folly of it ordinarily attends the exerciſe of future years, when the dear bought experience of time teaches us repentance. Thus was it with me; but notwithſtanding the thoughts of my deliverance ran ſo ſtrongly in my mind, that it ſeemed to check all the dictates of reaſon and philoſophy. And now to uſher in my kind reader with great pleaſure to the remaining part of my relation, I flatter myſelf it will not be taken amiſs, to give him an account of my firſt conceptions of the manner of eſcaping, and upon what foundation I laid my fooliſh ſchemes.

Having retired to my caſtle, after my late voyage to the ſhip, my frigate laid up and ſecured, as uſual, and my condition the ſame as before, except being richer, though

I had as little occaſion for riches as the Indians of Peru had for gold, before the cruel Spaniards came among them: One night in March, being the rainy ſeaſon, in the four and twentieth year of my ſolitude, I lay down to ſleep, very well in health, without diſtemper, pain, or uncommon uneaſineſs, either of body or mind; yet notwithſtanding, I could not compoſe myſelf to ſleep all the night long. All this tedious while it is impoſſible to expreſs what innumerable thoughts came into my head. I traced quite over the whole hiſtory of my life in miniature, from my utmoſt remembrance of things till I came to this iſland; and then proceeded to examine every action and paſſage that had occurred ſince I had taken poſſeſſion of my kingdom. In my reflections upon the latter, I was comparing the happy poſture of my affairs in the beginning of my reign, to this life of anxiety, fear, and concern, ſince I had diſcovered the print of a foot in the ſand; that while I continued without apprehenſion, I was incapable of feeling the dread and terror I now ſuffered. How thankful rather ought I to have been for the knowledge of my danger, ſince the greateſt happineſs one can be poſſeſſed of is to have ſufficient time to provide againſt it? How ſtupendous is the goodneſs of Providence, which ſets ſuch narrow bounds to the ſight and knowledge of human nature, that while men walk in the midſt of ſo many dangers they are kept ſerene and calm, by having the events of things hid from their eyes, and knowing nothing of thoſe many dangers that ſurround them, till perhaps they are diſſipated and vaniſh away.

When I came more particularly to conſider of the real danger I had for ſo many years eſcaped; how I had walked about in the greateſt ſecurity and tranquility, at a time, perhaps, when even nothing but the brow of a hill, a great tree, or the common approach of night, had interpoſed between me and the deſtructive hands of the cannibals, who would devour me with as good an appetite, as I would a pigeon or curlew; ſurely all this, I ſay, could not but make me ſincerely thankful to my great Preſerver, whoſe ſingular protection I acknowledged with the greateſt humility, and without which I muſt inevitably have fallen into the cruel hands of thoſe devourers

Having thus diſcuſſed my thoughts in the cleareſt manner, according to my weak underſtanding, I next proceeded to conſider the wretched nature of thoſe deſtroying

ſavages, by ſeeming, though with great reverence, to inquire, why God ſhould give up any of his creatures to ſuch inhumanity, even to brutality itſelf, to devour its own kind? but as this was rather matter of obſtruſe ſpeculation, and as my miſerable ſituation made me think this of mine the moſt uncomfortable ſituation in the world, I then began rather to inquire what part of the world theſe wretches lived in; how far off the coaſt was from whence they came; why they ventured over ſo far from home; what kind of boats conveyed them hither; and why I could not order myſelf and my buſineſs ſo, that I might be as able to attain their country, as they were to come to my kingdom?

But then, thought I, how ſhall I manage myſelf when I come thither? what will become of me if I fall into the hands of the ſavages? or how ſhall I eſcape from them, if they make an attempt upon me? and ſuppoſing I ſhould not fall into their power, what ſhall I do for proviſion, or which way ſhall I bend my courſe? Theſe counter thoughts threw me into the greateſt horror and confuſion imaginable; but then I ſtill looked upon my preſent condition to be the moſt miſerable that poſſibly could be, and that nothing could be worſe, except death. For (thought I) could I but attain the ſhore of the main, I might perhaps meet with ſome relief, or coaſt it along, as I did with my boy Xury, on the African ſhore, till I came to ſome inhabited country, where I might meet with ſome relief, or fall in with ſome Chriſtian ſhip that might take me in; and if I failed, why then I could but meet with death, which would put an end to all my miſeries. Theſe thoughts, I muſt confeſs, were the fruit of a diſtempered mind, an impatient temper made deſperate, as it were, by long continuance of the troubles and diſappointments I had met with in the wreck, where I hoped to have found ſome living perſon to ſpeak to, by whom I might have known in what place I was, and of the probable means of my deliverance. Thus, while my thoughts were agitated, my reſignation to the will of Heaven was entirely ſuſpended! ſo that I had no power to fix my mind to any thing, but to the project of a voyage to the main land. And indeed ſo much was I inflamed upon this account, that it ſet my blood into a ferment, and my pulſe beat high, as though I had been in a fever; till nature being, as it were, fatigued and exhauſted with the very thoughts of it, made me ſubmit myſelf to a ſilent repoſe.

In ſuch a ſituation, it is very ſtrange, that I did not dream of what I was ſo intent upon; but, inſtead of it, my mind roved on a quite different thing, altogether foreign. I dreamed, that as I was iſſuing from my caſtle, one morning, as cuſtomary, I perceiyed upon the ſhore, two canoes, and eleven ſavages, coming to land, who had brought with them another Indian, whom they deſigned to make a ſacrifice of, in order to devour; but juſt as they were going to give the fatal blow, methought the poor deſigned victim jumped away and ran directly into my little thick grove before my fortification, to abſcond from his enemies; when perceiving that the others did not follow him that way, I appeared to him; that he humbly kneeled down before me, ſeeming to pray for my aſſiſtance; upon which I ſhewed him my ladder, made him aſcend, carried him to my cave, and he became my ſervant; and when I had gotten this man, I ſaid to myſelf, now ſurely I may have ſome hopes to attain the main land; for this fellow will ſerve me as a pilot, tell me what to do, and where I muſt go for proviſions, what places to ſhun, what to venture to, and what to eſcape. But when I awaked, and found all theſe inexpreſſible impreſſions of joy entirely vaniſhed, I fell into the greateſt dejection of ſpirit imaginable.

Yet this dream brought me to reflect, that one ſure way of eſcaping was to get a ſavage; that after I had ventured my life to deliver him from the bloody jaws of his devourers, the natural ſenſe he might have of ſuch a preſervation, might inſpire him with a laſting gratitude and moſt ſincere affection. But then this objection reaſonably interpoſed: how can I effect this, thought I, without I attack a whole company of them, and kill them all? why ſhould I proceed on ſuch a deſperate attempt, which my ſcruples before had ſuggeſted to be unlawful! and indeed my heart trembled at the thoughts of ſo much blood, though it were a means to procure my deliverance. 'Tis true, I might reaſonably enough ſuppoſe theſe men to be real enemies to my life, men who would devour me, was it n their power: ſo that it was ſelf-preſervation in the higheſt degree to free myſelf, by attacking them in my own defence, as lawfully as if they were actually aſſaulting me: though all theſe things, I ſay, ſeemed to me to be of the greateſt weight, yet, as I juſt ſaid before, the dreadful thoughts of ſhedding human blood, ſtruck ſuch a terror to my ſoul, that it was a long time before I could reconcile myſelf to it.

But how far will the ardency of deſire prompt us on? For notwithſtanding the many diſputes and perplexities I had with myſelf, I at length reſolved, right or wrong, to get one of theſe ſavages into my hands, coſt what it would, or even though I ſhould loſe my life in the attempt. Inſpired with this firm reſolution, I ſet all my wits at work, to find out what methods I ſhould take to anſwer my deſign: this, indeed, was ſo difficult a taſk, that I could not pitch upon any probable means to execute it: I, therefore, reſolved continually to be in a vigilant poſture, to perceive when the ſavages came on ſhore, and to leave the reſt to the event, let the opportunities offer as they would.

Such were my fixed reſolutions; and accordingly I ſet myſelf upon the ſcout, as often as I could, till ſuch time as I was heartily tired of it. I waited for above a year and a half, the greateſt part of which I went out to the weſt, and ſouth-weſt corner of the iſland, almoſt every day, to look for canoes; but none appeared. This was a very great diſcouragement; yet, though I was very much concerned, the edge of my deſign was as keen as ever, and the longer it ſeemed to be delayed, the more eager was I for it: in a word, I never before was ſo careful to ſhun the loathing ſight of theſe ſavages, as I was now eager to be with them: and I thought myſelf ſufficiently able to manage one, two, or three ſavages, if I had them, ſo as to make them my entire ſlaves, to do whatſoever I ſhould direct them, and prevent their being able at any time to do me a miſchief. Many times did I uſe to pleaſe myſelf with theſe thoughts, with long and ardent expectations; but nothing preſenting, all my deep projected ſchemes, and numerous fancies, vaniſhed away, as though, while I retained ſuch thoughts, the decree of Providence was ſuch, that no ſavages were to come near me.

About a year and a half after, when I was ſeriouſly muſing of ſundry other ways how I ſhould attain my end, one morning early I was very much ſurpriſed by ſeeing no leſs than five canoes all on ſhore together, on my ſide the iſland, and the ſavages that belonged to them all landed, and out of my ſight. Such a number of them diſconcerted all my meaſures; for, ſeeing ſo many boats, each of which would contain ſix, and ſometimes more, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to order my meaſures to attack twenty or thirty men ſingle handed: upon which, much diſpirited and perplexed, I lay ſtill in

my caſtle; which, however, I put in a proper poſture for an attack; and, having formerly provided all that was neceſſary, was ſoon ready to enter upon an engagement, ſhould they attempt. Having waited for ſome time, my impatient temper would let me bear it no longer; I ſet my guns at the foot of my ladder, and, as uſual, aſcended up to the top of the hill at two ſtages, ſtanding, however, in ſuch a manner, that my head did not appear above the hill, ſo that they could not eaſily perceive me: and here, by the aſſiſtance of my perſpective glaſs, I obſerved no leſs than thirty in number around a fire, feaſting upon what meat they had dreſſed: how they cooked it, or what it was, I could not then perfectly tell; but they were all dancing and capering about the flames, uſing many frightful and barbarous geſtures.

But while, with a curious eye, I was beholding theſe wretches, my ſpirits ſunk within me, when I perceived them drag two miſerable creatures from the boats, to act afreſh the dreadful tragedy, as I ſuppoſed they had done before. It was not long before one of them fell upon the ground, knocked down, as I ſuppoſe, with a club or wooden ſword, for that was their manner; while two or three others went immediately to work, cutting him open for their cookery, and then fell to devour him as they had done the former, while the laſt unhappy captive was left by himſelf, till ſuch time as they were ready for him. The poor creature looked round him with a wiſhful eye, trembling at the thoughts of death; yet, ſeeing himſelf a little at liberty, nature, that very moment, as it were, inſpired him with hopes of life: He ſtarted away from them, and ran, with incredible ſwiftneſs, along the ſands, directly to that part of the coaſt where my antient and venerable caſtle ſtood.

You may well imagine, I was dreadfully affrighted, upon this occaſion, when, as I thought they purſued him in a whole body, all running towards my palace. And, now, indeed, I expected, that part of my dream was going to be fulfilled, and that he would certainly fly to my grove for protection; but, for the reſt of my dream, I could depend nothing on it, that the ſavages would purſue him thither, and find him there. However, my ſpirits beginning to recover, I ſtill kept up my guard; and I now plainly perceived, there were but three men out of the number that purſued him. I was infinitely pleaſed with

what ſwiftneſs the poor creature ran from his purſuers, gaining ſo much ground upon them, that I plainly perceived, could he thus hold out for half an hour, there was not the leaſt doubt but he would ſave his life from the power of his enemies.

Between them and my caſtle there was a creek, that very ſame which I ſailed into with all my effects from the wreck of the ſhip, on the ſteep banks of which I very much feared the poor victim would be taken, if he could not ſwim for his eſcape: But ſoon was I out of pain for him, when I perceived he made nothing of it, though at full tide, but, with an intrepid courage, ſpurred on by the ſenſe of danger, he plunged into the flood ſwimming over in about thirty ſtrokes, and then landing, ran with the ſame incredible ſtrength and ſwiftneſs as before. When the three purſuers came to the creek, one of them, who I perceived could not ſwim, happily for his part, returned to his company, while the others, with equal courage, but much leſs ſwiftneſs, attained the other ſide, as though they were reſolved never to give over the purſuit. And now or never I thought was the time for me to procure me a ſervant, companion, or aſſiſtant: and that I was decreed by Providence to be the inſtrument to ſave this poor creature's life. I immediately deſcended my two ladders with the greateſt expedition; I took up my two guns, which, I ſaid before were at the bottom of them: and, getting up again with the ſame haſte towards the hill, I made nearer the ſea. In a word, taking a ſhort cut down the hill, I interpoſed between the purſuers and purſued, hallooing aloud to the latter, who, venturing to look back, was, no doubt, as much terrified at me as I at them. I beckoned to him, with my hand, to return back, in the mean time advancing towards the purſuers, and ruſhing on the foremoſt, I knocked him down with the ſtock of my piece, and laid him flat on the ground. I was very unwilling to fire leſt the reſt ſhould hear, though at a diſtance, I queſtioned whether they could or no; and, being out of ſight of the ſmoke, they could not eaſily have known what to make of it. The other ſavage ſeeing his fellow fall, ſtopped as if he had been amazed: when, advancing towards him, I could perceive him take his bow from his back, and, fixing an arrow to it, was preparing to ſhoot at me, and, without diſpute, might have lodged the arrow in my breaſt; but, in this abſolutely neceſſary caſe of ſelf-preſervation, I

immediately fired at him, and ſhot him dead, juſt as his hand was going to draw the fatal ſtring. All this while, the ſavage who had fled before ſtood ſtill, and had the ſatisfaction to ſee his enemies killed, as he thought, who deſigned to take away his life: ſo affrighted was he with the fire and noiſe of my piece, that he ſtood as it were like Lot's wife, fixed and immoveable, without either ſenſe or motion. This obliged me to halloo to him again, making the plaineſt ſigns I could to him to draw nearer. I perceived he underſtood thoſe tokens by his approaching to me a little way, when, as if afraid I ſhould kill him too, he ſtopped again. Several times did he advance, and as often ſtop in this manner, till, coming more to my view, I perceived him trembling, as if he was to undergo the ſame fate. Upon which I looked upon him with a ſmiling countenance, and ſtill beckoning to him; at length he came cloſe to me, and kneeled down, kiſſed the ground, laid his head upon it, and taking me by the foot, ſet it upon his head; and this, as I underſtood afterwards, was a token of ſwearing to be my ſlave for ever. I took him up, and, making much of him, encouraged him in the beſt manner I could. But my work was not yet finiſhed; for I perceived the ſavage whom I knocked down, was not killed, but ſtunned with the blow, and began to come to himſelf. Upon which I pointed to my new ſervant, and ſhewed him that his enemy was not yet expired, he ſpoke ſome words to me, but which I could not underſtand: yet being the firſt ſound of a man's voice I had heard for above twenty-five years, they were very pleaſing to me. But there was no time for reflection now, the wounded ſavage recovering himſelf ſo far as to ſit upon the ground, which made my poor priſoner as much afraid as before: to put him out of which fear, I preſented my other gun at the man, with an intent to ſhoot him; but my ſavage, for ſo I muſt now call him, prevented my firing, by making a motion to me, to lend him my ſword, which hung naked in my belt by my ſide. No ſooner did I grant his requeſt, but away he runs to his enemy, and at one blow cut off his head as dexterouſly as the moſt accompliſhed executioner in Germany could have done: for, it ſeems, theſe creatures make uſe of wooden ſwords made of hard wood, which will bear edge enough to cut off heads and arms at one blow. When this valorous exploit was done, he comes to me laughing, as a token of triumph, delivered me my

ſword again, with abundance of ſurpriſing geſtures, laying it along, with the bleeding and ghaſtly head of the Indian at my feet.

The greateſt aſtoniſhment that my new ſervant conceived, was the manner of killing the ſavage at ſuch a diſtance, without a bow and arrow: and ſuch was his longing deſire to know it, that he firſt pointed to the dead carcaſe, and then made ſigns to me to grant him leave to go to him. Upon which I bid him go, and, as well as I could, made him ſenſible I granted his requeſt. But when he came there, how wonderfully he was ſtruck with amazement! Firſt he turned him on one ſide, then on another, wondering he could perceive no quantity of blood, he bleeding inwardly: and after ſufficiently admiring the wound the bullet had made in his breaſt, he took up his bow and arrows, and came back again; upon which I turned to go away, making my ſigns to him to follow, leſt the reſt miſſing their companions, might come in purſuit of them, and this I found he underſtood very well, by his making me underſtand that his deſign was to bury them, that they might not be ſeen if it happened; and which by ſigns again I made him ſenſible I very much approved of. Immediately he fell to work, and never was grave-digger more dexterous in the world than he was; for in an inſtant, as I might I ſay, he ſcraped a large hole in the ſands with his hands, ſufficient to bury the firſt in; there he dragged him, and without any ceremony he covered him over; in like manner he ſerved the other: ſo that I am ſure no undertaker could be more expert in his buſineſs; for all this was done in leſs than a quarter of an hour. I then called him away, and inſtead of carrying him directly to my caſtle at firſt, I conveyed him to my cave on the farther part of the iſland; and ſo my dream was now fulfilled in that particular, that my grove ſhould prove an aſylum or ſanctuary to him.

Weary and faint, hungry and thirſty, undoubtedly muſt this poor creature be, ſupported chiefly by the vivacity of ſpirit, and uncommon tranſports of joy that his deliverance occaſioned. Here I gave him bread and a bunch of raiſins to eat, and water to drink, on which he fed very cheerfully, to his exceeding refreſhment. I then made him a convenient bed, with a parcel of rice ſtraw, and a blanket upon it, (a bed which I uſed myſelf ſometimes) and then

pointing to it, made ſigns for him to lie down to ſleep, upon which the poor creature went to take a welcome repoſe.

Indeed he was a very comely, handſome, young fellow, extremely well made, with ſtraight long limbs, not too large, but tall and well ſhaped, and, as near as I could reckon about twenty ſix years of age. His countenance had nothing in it fierce or ſurly, but rather a ſort of majeſty in his face; and yet, eſpecially when he ſmiled, he had all the ſweetneſs and ſoftneſs of an European. His hair was not curled like wool, as many of the blacks are, but long and black, with the moſt beautiful, yet careleſs, treſſes ſpreading over his ſhoulders. He had a very high and large forehead, with a great vivacity and ſparkling ſharpneſs in his eyes. His ſkin was not ſo tawny as the Virginians, Braziliaps, or other Americans; but rather of a bright dun, olive colour, that had ſomething agreeable in it, though not very eaſy to give a deſcription of. His face was round and plump, with a ſmall noſe, very different from the flatneſs of the negroes, a pretty ſmall mouth, thin lips, fine teeth, very well ſet, and white as the driven ſnow. In a word, ſuch handſome features, and exact ſymmetry in every part, made me conſider, that I had ſaved the life of an Indian prince, no leſs graceful and accompliſhed than the great Oroonoke, whoſe memorable behaviour and unhappy contingencies of life have charmed the world, both to admiration of his perſon, and compaſſion to his ſufferings.

But let him be either prince or peaſant, all my happineſs centered in this, that I had now got a good ſervant or companion, to whom as he deſerved, I was reſolved to prove a kind maſter and laſting friend. He had not, I think, ſlept above an hour, when he awakened again, and while I was milking my goats hard by, out he runs from the cave towards me in my incloſure, and laying himſelf down on the ground in the loweſt proſtration, made all the antic geſtures imaginable, to expreſs his thankfulneſs to me for being his deliverer. I confeſs, though the manner of his behaviour ſeemed to be ludicrous enough to occaſion laughter; yet I was very much moved at his affection, ſo that my heart melted within me, fearing he might die away in exceſs of joy, like reprieved malefactors; eſpecially as I was incapable either to let him blood, or adminiſter phyſic. It were to be wiſhed, that Chriſtians would take example by

this Heathen, to have a laſting remembrance of the benefits and deliverances they have received, by the kind mediation and powerful interpoſition of their benefactors and deliverers; and it would likewiſe be happy for mankind, were there no occaſion to blame many, who, inſtead of thankfully acknowledging favours and benefits, rather abuſe and contemn thoſe who have been the inſtruments to ſave them from deſtruction.

But, leaving theſe juſt reflections, I return to the object that occaſioned them; for my man, to conclude the laſt ceremony of obedience, laid down his head again on the ground, cloſe to my foot, and ſet my other foot upon his head, as he had done before, making all the ſigns of ſubjection, ſervitude, and ſubmiſſion imaginable, to let me underſtand he would ſerve me as long as his life endured. As I underſtood him in many things, I made him ſenſible I was very well pleaſed with him; and, in a little time, I began to ſpeak to him, and learn him how to talk to me again. In the firſt place, I made him underſtand his name was to be Friday, becauſe it was upon that day I ſaved his life: then I taught him to ſay Maſter, which I made him ſenſible was to be my name. I likewiſe taught him to ſay Yes and No, and to know what they meant. I gave him ſome milk in an earthen pot, making him view me while I drank it before him, and ſoaked my bread in it; I gave him a cake of bread, and cauſed him to ſoak it likewiſe, to which he readily conſented, making ſigns of the greateſt ſatisfaction imaginable.

All that night did I keep him there; but no ſooner did the morning light appear, when I ordered him to ariſe, and come along with me, with certain tokens that I would give him ſome clothes like mine, at which he ſeemed very glad, being ſtark naked, without the leaſt covering whatever. As we paſſed by the place where the two men had been interred, my man pointed directly to their graves, ſhewing me the marks that he had made to find them again, giving me to underſtand, by ſigns, that we ſhould dig them up, and devour them. At this I appeared extremely diſpleaſed, expreſſed my utmoſt abhorrence, as if I would vomit at the apprehenſions of it, beckoning with my hand to come away, which he did with the greateſt reverence and ſubmiſſion. After this I conducted him to the top of the hill, to view if the reſt of the ſavages were yet remaining there; but when I looked through my perſpective glaſs, I

could ſee no appearance of them, nor of their canoes; ſo that it was very evident they never minded their deceaſed companions whom we had ſlain; which if they had, they would ſurely have ſearched for, or left one boat behind for them to follow, after they returned from their purſuit.

Curioſity, and a deſire of ſatisfaction, animating me with courage to ſee this ſcene of barbarity, I took my man Friday with me, putting a ſword into his hand, with the bow and arrows at his back, which I perceived he could uſe very dexterouſly, cauſing him to carry one gun for me, and I two for myſelf; and thus equipped againſt all attacks, away we marched directly to the place of their bloody entertainment. But when I came there, I was ſtruck with the utmoſt horror at ſo dreadful a ſpectacle, whilſt Friday was no way concerned about it, being no doubt in his turn one of theſe devourers. Here lay ſeveral human bones, there ſeveral pieces of mangled fleſh, half eaten, mangled and ſcorched, whilſt ſtreams of blood ran promiſcuouſly as waters from a fountain. As I was muſing on this dreadful ſight, Friday took all the pains he could, by particular ſigns, to make me underſtand, that they had brought over four priſoners to feaſt upon, three of whom they had eaten up, and that he was the fourth, pointing to himſelf: that there having been a bloody battle between them and his great king, in the juſt defence of whom he was taken priſoner, with many others; all of theſe were carried off to different places to be devoured by their conquerors; and that it was his misfortune to be brought hither by theſe wretches for the ſame purpoſe.

After I was made ſenſible of theſe things, I cauſed Friday to gather thoſe horrid remains, and lay them together upon a heap, which I ordered to be ſet on fire, and burnt them to aſhes: my man, however, ſtill retained the nature of a cannibal, having a hankering ſtomach after ſome of the fleſh: but ſuch an extreme abhorrence did I expreſs at the leaſt appearance of it, that he durſt not but conceal it; for I made him very ſenſible, that if he offered any ſuch thing, I would certainly ſhoot him.

This being done, I carried my man with me to my caſtle, and gave him a pair of linen drawers, which I had taken out of the poor gunner's cheſt before mentioned; and which, with a little alteration, fitted him very well: in the next place I made him a jerkin of goat-ſkin, ſuch as my ſkill was able to manage, and indeed I thought myſelf then a

tolerable good tailor. I gave him alſo a cap, which I made of a hare's ſkin, very convenient and faſhionable. Thus being clothed tolelerably well, my man was no leſs proud of his habit, than I was in ſeeing him in it. Indeed he went very awkwardly at firſt, the drawers being too heavy on his thighs, not uſed to bear any weight, and the ſleeves of the waiſtcoat galled his ſhoulders, and the inſide of his arms; but by a little eaſing where he complained they hurt him, and by uſing himſelf to them, at length he took to them very well.

My next concern was, where I ſhould lodge him: and that I might do well by him, and yet be perfectly eaſy myſelf, I erected a tent for him in the vacant place between my two fortifications, in the inſide of the laſt, and the outſide of the firſt; and as there was an entrance or door into my cave, I made a formal framed door-caſe, and a door to open on the inſide; I barred it up in the night time, taking in my ladders too, ſo that, was my man to prove treacherous, there could be no way to come at me in the inſide of my innermoſt wall, without making ſo much noiſe in getting over, that it muſt needs waken me; for my firſt wall had now a complete roof over it of long poles, ſpreading over my tent, and leaning up to the ſide of the mountain, which was again laid croſs with ſmaller ſticks inſtead of laths, and thatched over a great thickneſs with the rice ſtraw, which was as ſtrong as reeds; and at the hole of the place, left on purpoſe to go in or out by the ladder, had placed a kind of a trap door, which, if it had been attempted on the outſide, would not have opened at all, but have fallen down, and made a great noiſe; and as to my weapons, every night I took them all to my bed ſide.

But there was no occaſion for this precaution; for ſurely never maſter had a more ſincere, faithful and loving ſervant than Friday proved to me. Without paſſion, fullineſs, or deſign, perfectly obliging and engaging, his affections were as much tied to me, as thoſe of a child to his parents; and I might venture to ſay, he would have ſacrificed his life for the ſaving mine, upon any occaſion whatſoever. And indeed the many teſtimonies he gave me of this, ſufficiently convinced me that I had no occaſion to uſe theſe precautions. And here I could not but reflect with great wonder, that however it hath pleaſed the Almighty in his providence, and in the government of the creation, to take

from ſo great a part of the world of his creatures, the nobleſt uſes to which their faculties, and the powers of their ſouls are adapted; yet that he has beſtowed upon them the ſame reaſon, affections, ſentiments of kindneſs, and obligation, paſſions of reſentment, ſincerity, fidelity, and all the capacities of doing and receiving good that he has given us; and that when he is graciouſly pleaſed to offer them occaſions of exerting theſe, they are as ready, nay, more ready, to apply them to the proper uſes for which they were beſtowed, than we often are. Theſe thoughts would make me melancholy, eſpecially when I conſidered how mean a uſe we make of all theſe, even though we have theſe powers enlighted by the Holy Spirit of God and by the knowledge of this world, as an addition to our underſtanding; and why it has pleaſed the heavenly Wiſdom to conceal the like ſaving knowledge from ſo many millions of ſouls, who would certainly make a much better uſe of it than generally mankind do at this time. Theſe reflections would ſometimes lead me ſo far, as to invade the ſovereignty of Providence, and, as it were, arraign the juſtice of ſuch an arbitrary diſpoſition of things, that ſhould obſcure that light from ſome, and reveal it to others, and yet expect a like duty from all But I cloſed it up, checking my thought with this concluſion; *firſt*, That we were ignorant of that right and law by which theſe ſhould be condemned; but as the Almighty was neceſſarily, and by the nature of his eſſence, infinitely juſt and holy; ſo it could not be otherwiſe, but that if theſe creatures were all deſtined to abſence from himſelf, it was on account of ſinning againſt that light; which, as the ſcripture ſays, was a law to themſelves, and by ſuch rules as their conſciences would acknowledge to be juſt, though the firſt foundation was not diſcovered to us. And, *ſecondly*, That ſtill as we were the clay in the hand of the potter, no veſſel could thus ſay to him, Why haſt thou faſhioned me after this manner?

I had not been above two or three days returned to my caſtle, but my chief deſign was, how I ſhould bring Friday off from his horrid way of feeding; and, to take from him that inhuman reliſh he by nature had been accuſtomed to, I thought it my duty to let him taſte other fleſh, which might the rather tempt him to the ſame abhorrence of ſo often expreſſed againſt their accurſed way of living. Upon which, one morning I took him out with me, with

an intention to kill a kid out of the flock, and bring it home, and dreſs it. As I was going, I perceived a ſhe-goat lyi g down in the ſhade, and two young kids ſitting by her. Immediately I catched hold of my man Friday, and bidding him ſtand ſtill, and not ſtir, I preſented my piece, and ſhot one of the kids. My poor ſervant, who had at a diſtance perceived me kill his adverſary, and yet did not know by what means, or how it was done, ſtood trembling and ſurpriſed, and looked ſo amazed, that I thought he would have ſunk into the earth. He did not ſee the kid I aimed at, or behold I had killed it, but ripped up his waiſtcoat to ſee if he was not wounded, thinking my reſolution was to kill him; for coming to me, he fell on his knees, earneſtly pronouncing many things which I did not underſtand the meaning of; which at length I perceived was, that I would not take away his life.

Indeed I was much concerned to ſee him in that condition, where nature is upon the ſevereſt trial, when the immediate hand of death is ready to put for ever a period to this mortal life: and indeed ſo much compaſſion had I to this creature, that it was with difficulty I refrained from tears. But, however, as another ſort of countenance was neceſſary, and to convince him that I would do him no harm, I took him, ſmiling, by the hand, then laughed at him, and pointing to the kid which I had ſlain, made ſigns to him to fetch it, which accordingly he did. No leſs curious was he in viewing how the creature was killed, than he had been before in beholding the Indian; which, while he was admiring at, I charged my gun again, and preſently perceived a great fowl like a hawk, perching upon a tree within ſhot; and, therefore, to let Friday underſtand what I was going to do, I called him to me again, pointing at the fowl, which I found to be a parrot. I made him underſtand that I would ſhoot and kill that bird; accordingly I fired, and bade him look, when immediately he ſaw the parrot fall down. Again he ſtood like one amazed, notwithſtanding all I had ſaid to him: and the more confounded he was, becauſe he did not perceive me put any thing into my gun. Undoubtedly a thing ſo utterly ſtrange, carrying death along with it, far or near, either to man or beaſt, muſt certainly create the greater aſtoniſhment to one who never had heard ſuch a thing in his whole life: and really his amazement continued ſo long, that had I allowed it, he would have proſtrated himſelf be-

fore me and my gun, with the greateſt worſhip and adoration. As for the gun in particular, he would not ſo much as touch it for ſeveral days after; but would come and communicate his thoughts to it, and talk to it, as if the ſenſeleſs piece had underſtood and anſwered him; all this I could perceive him do, when he thought my back was turned, the chief intent of which was, to deſire it not to kill him, as I afterwards came to underſtand.

I never ſtrove to prevent his admiration, nor hinder him from thoſe comical geſtures he uſed on ſuch occaſions; but when his aſtoniſhment was a little over, I made tokens to him to run and fetch the parrot that I had ſhot; which accordingly he did, ſtaying ſometime longer than uſual, by reaſon the bird, not being quite dead, had fluttered ſome way farther from the place where ſhe fell. In the mean time, as he was looking for her, I took the advantage of charging my gun again, that ſo I might be ready for any other mark that offered; but nothing more occurred at that time. So I brought home the kid, and the ſame evening took off the ſkin, and divided the carcaſe as well as I could. Part of the fleſh I ſtewed and boiled, in a pot I had for this purpoſe. And then ſpreading my table, I ſat down, giving my man ſome of it to eat, who was wonderfully pleaſed, and ſeemed to like it very well: but what was the moſt ſurpriſing to him was to ſee me eat ſalt with it: upon which he made me underſtand, that the ſalt was very bad for me; when putting a little into his mouth, he ſeemed to nauſeate it in ſuch a manner, as to ſpit and ſputter at it, and then waſhed his mouth with freſh water: but to ſhew him how contrary his opinion was to mine, I put ſome meat into my mouth without ſalt, and feigned to ſpit and ſputter as much for want the of it, as he had done at it; yet all this proved of no ſignification, to Friday; and it was a long while before he could endure ſalt in his meat or broth, and even then but a ſmall quantity.

Thus, having fed him ſufficiently with boiled meat and broth at that time, the next day I was reſolved to feaſt him with a roaſted piece of the kid. And having no ſpit to faſten it, nor jack to turn it, I made uſe of that common artifice which many of the common people of England have, that is to ſet two poles upon each ſide of the fire, and one croſs on the top, hanging the meat thereon with a ſtring, and ſo turning round continually, roaſt it, in the ſame manner as we read bloody tyrants of old cruelly

roaſted the holy martyrs. This practice cauſed great admiration in my man Friday, being quite another way than that to which the ſavages were accuſtomed. But when he came to taſte the ſweetneſs and tenderneſs of the fleſh, he expreſſed his entire ſatisfaction above a thouſand different ways. And as I could not but underſtand his meaning, you may be ſure I was as wonderfully pleaſed, eſpecially when he made it alſo very plain to me, that he would never, while he lived, eat man's fleſh more.

It was now high time I ſhould ſet my ſervant to work; ſo, next day, I put him to beat out ſome corn, and ſift it in the ſame manner as I had done before. And really the fellow was very quick and handy in the execution of any thing I ordered him to go about. I made him underſtand that it was to make bread for us to eat, and afterwards let him ſee me bake it. In ſhort, he did every thing, as I ordered him, and in a little time as well as I could perform it myſelf.

But now conſidering that I had two mouths to feed inſtead of one, it was neceſſary that I muſt provide more ground for my harveſt, and plant a larger quantity of corn than I commonly uſed to do; upon which I marked out a larger piece of land, fencing it in, in the ſame manner as I had done before; in the execution of which I muſt give Friday this good word, that no man could work more hardy, or with better will than he did: and when I made him ſenſible that it was for bread to ſerve him as well as me, he then very paſſionately made me underſtand, that he thought I had much more labour on his account, than I had for myſelf; and that no pains or diligence ſhould be wanting in him, if I would but direct him in thoſe works wherein he might proceed.

I muſt certainly own, that this was the moſt pleaſant year I ever had in the iſland; for after ſome time, Friday began to talk pretty well, and underſtood the names of thoſe things which I was wont to call for, and the places where I uſed to ſend him. So that my long ſilent tongue, which had been uſeleſs ſo many years, except in an exclamatory manner, either for deliverance or bleſſings, now began to be occupied in teaching, and talking to my man Friday; for indeed I had ſuch a ſingular ſatisfaction in the fellow himſelf, ſo innocent did his ſimple and unfeigned honeſty appear more and more to me every day, that I really began entirely to love him; and for his part, I believe there

was no love loſt, and that his nature had been more charmed by his exceeding kindneſs, and his affections more placed upon me, than any other object whatſoever among his own countrymen. I once had a great mind to try if he had any hankering inclination to his own country again: and by this time having learned him Engliſh ſo well, that he could give me tolerable anſwers to any queſtion which I demanded, I aſked him whether that nation to which he belonged, ever conquered in battle? This queſtion made Friday to ſmile, and to which he anſwered "Yes, yes, "we always fight the better;" as much as to ſay, they always got the better in fight. Upon which we proceeded on the following diſcourſe: You ſay, ſaid I, that you always fight the better; why then, Friday, how came you to be taken priſoner?

Friday. But for all that, my nation beat much.

Maſter. How, ſay you, beat! if your nation beat them, how came you to be taken?

Friday. They more many mans than my nation in the place where me was, they take one two, three, and me: my nation much overbeat them in the yonder place where me no was, there my nation mans beat one, two, three great touſand.

Maſter. Then why did not your men recover you from the hands of your enemies?

Friday. They run one, two, or three, and me; they make all go in the canoe; my nation have no canoe that time.

Maſter. 'Tis very well, Friday; but what does your nation do with the priſoners they take? Do they carry them away and eat them as theſe have done?

Friday. Yes, yes, my nation eat mans too, eat up all.

Maſter. To what place do they carry them to be devoured.

Friday. Go to other nations where they think.

Maſter. Do they bring them hither?

Friday. Yes, come over hither, come over other place.

Maſter. And have you been with them here, Friday?

Friday. Yes, me been here, *(pointing to the north-weſt of the iſland, being the ſide where they uſed to land.)*

Thus having gotten what account I could from my man, I plainly underſtood, that he had been as bad as any of the reſt of the cannibals, having been formerly among the ſavages who uſed to come on ſhore on the fartheſt part of

the iſland, upon the ſame bloody occaſions as he was brought hither for: and ſome time after I carried him to that place where he pointed; and no ſooner did he come there, but he preſently knew the ground, ſignifying to me that he was once there when they ate up twenty men, two women and a young child; but as he could not explain the number in *Engliſh*, he did it by ſo many ſtones in a row, making a ſign to me to count them.

This paſſage I have the rather mentioned, becauſe it led to things more important and uſeful for me to know: for after I had this ſatisfactory diſcourſe with him, my next queſtion was, how far it was from the iſland to the ſhore, and whether the canoes were not often loſt in the ocean? to which he anſwered, there was no danger; that no canoes were ever loſt; but that after a little way out to the ſea, there was a ſtrong current, and a wind always one way in the afternoon. This I thought at firſt to be no more than the ſets of the tide, of going out or coming in; but I afterwards underſtood it was occaſioned by the great draught and reflux of the mighty river Oroonoko, in the mouth or gulph of which I imagined my kingdom lay; and that the land which I perceived to the W. and N. W. muſt be the great iſland Trinidad, on the north of the river. A thouſand queſtions (if that would ſatisfy me) did I aſk Friday, about the nature of the country, the ſea, the coaſts, the inhabitants, and what nations were neareſt them; to which queſtions the poor fellow declared all he knew, with the greateſt openneſs, and utmoſt ſincerity. When I demanded of him the particular names of the various nations of his ſort of people, he could only anſwer me in general, that they were called *Caribe*. Hence it was I conſidered that theſe muſt be the Caribbees, ſo much taken notice of by our maps, to be on that part of America, which reaches from the mouth of the river Oroonoko to Guiania, and ſo on to St. Martha. Then Friday proceeded to tell me, that, up a great way beyond the moon, as much as to ſay, beyond the ſetting of the moon, which muſt be W. from their country, there dwelt white bearded men, ſuch as I was, pointing to my wiſkers, and that they kill *much mans*. I was not ignorant with what barbarity the Spaniards treated theſe creatures; ſo that I preſently concluded it muſt be them, whoſe cruelties had ſpread throughout America, to be remembered even to ſucceeding generations.

Well, you may be ſure, this knowledge, which the imperfect information of my man had led me to, was very comfortable to me, and made me ſo curious as to aſk him, how I might depart from this iſland, and get amongſt thoſe white men? He told me, "Yes, yes, I might go in two "canoes." In two canoes, thought I, what does my man mean? ſurely he means one for himſelf, and another for me: and if not, how muſt two canoes hold me without being joined, or one part of my body being put in one, and another in the other? And, indeed it was a long time before I underſtood his meaning, which was, that it muſt be a large boat, as big as two canoes, able to bear with the waves, and not ſo liable to be overwhelmed as one muſt be.

I believe there is no ſtate of life but what may be happy, if people would but endeavour for their part to make it ſo. He is not the happieſt man that has the moſt riches; but he that is content with what he hath. Before I had my ſervant, I thought myſelf miſerable till I had him; and now that I had enjoyed the happy benefits of him, I ſtill complained, and begged a deliverance from a place of retirement, eaſe, and plenty, where Providence had ſufficiently bleſſed me. In a word, from this time I entertained ſome hopes, that one time or other I might find an opportunity to make my eſcape from this iſland, and that this poor ſavage might be a great furtherance thereto.

All the time ſince my man became ſo intelligent as to underſtand and ſpeak to me, I ſpared no pains nor diligence to inſtruct him, according to my poor ſhare of knowledge in the principles of religion, and the adoration that he ought to pay to the *True God*. One time, as I very well remember, I aſked him who made him? At firſt the innocent creature did not underſtand what I meant, but rather thought I aſked him who was his father? upon which I took another way to make him ſenſible, by demanding from him an anſwer to this queſtion. Friday, ſaid I, who is it that made the ſea, this ground whereon we walk, and all theſe hills and woods which we behold? And here, indeed, I did not miſs my intention: for he told me it was old Benamuckee (the God whom I ſuppoſed theſe ſavages adored) who lived a great way beyond all. But as to his attributes, poor Friday was an utter ſtranger. He could deſcribe nothing of this great perſon; and all that he could ſay was, that he was very old, much older than the ſea, and

land, the moon, or the ſtars. Friday, ſaid I again, if this great and old perſon has made all things in the world, how comes it to paſs, that all things, as you in particular, do not adore and worſhip him? upon this looking very grave, with a perfect ſweet look of innocence, he replied, "Maſter, "all things ſay O to him," by which it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed he meant adoration. And where, ſaid I, do the people of your country go when they die? He anſwered to *Benamuckee*. What, and thoſe people that are eaten up, do they go there? *Benamuckee*, ſaid he, "Love 'em "dearly; me pray to Benamuckee in de canoe, and Be-"namuckee would love me when dey eat me all up."

Such diſcourſes as theſe had I with my man, and ſuch made me ſenſible, that the true God is worſhipped, tho' under imperfect ſimilitudes; and that the falſe adoration which the Heathens give to their imaginary deity, is as great an argument of the divine eſſence, as the moſt learned Atheiſts *(falſely ſo called)* can bring againſt it: for God will be glorified in his works, let the denomination be what it will; and I cannot be of that opinion which ſome conceive, that God ſhould decree men to be damned for want of a right notion of faith, in a place where the wiſdom of the Almighty has not permitted it to be preached: and therefore cannot but conclude, that ſince obedience is the beſt ſacrifice, theſe poor creatures, acting by that light and knowledge which they are poſſeſſed of may undoubtedly obtain a happy ſalvation, though not that enjoyment with Chriſt, as his ſaints, confeſſors, and martyrs muſt enjoy.

But laying theſe determinations aſide, more fit for divines than me to diſcuſs, I began to inſtruct my ſervant in the ſaving knowledge of the true Deity, in which the directions of God's Holy Spirit aſſiſted me. I lifted up my hands to Heaven, and pointing thereto, told him, that the great Maker of Heaven and Earth lived there: that as his infinite power faſhioned this world out of a confuſed chaos, and made it in that beautiful frame which we behold, ſo he governs and preſerves it by his unbounded knowledge, ſovereign greatneſs, and peculiar providence: that he was omnipotent, could do every thing for us, give every thing to us, and take every thing away from us: that he was a rewarder and puniſher of good and evil actions: that there was nothing but wh t he knew, no thoughts ſo ſecret but what he could bring to light; and thus, by degrees, I opened his eyes, and deſcribed to him

the manner of the creation of the world, the ſituation of paradiſe, the tranſgreſſion of our firſt parents, the wickedneſs of God's peculiar people, and the univerſal ſins and abominations of the whole earth. When theſe things were implanted in his mind, I told him, that as God's juſtice was equal to his mercy, he reſolved to deſtroy this world, till his ſon Jeſus Chriſt interpoſed in our behalf; and, to procure our redemption, obtained leave of his heavenly father to come down from Heaven into the world, where he took human nature upon him, inſtructed us in our way to eternal life, and died as a ſacrifice for our ſins; that he was now aſcended into Heaven, mediating for our pardon, delivering our petitions, and obtaining all thoſe good benefits which we aſk in his name, by humble and hearty prayers, all which were heard at the throne of Heaven. As very frequently I uſed to inculcate things into his mind, Friday one day told me, that if our great God could hear us beyond the ſun, he muſt ſurely be a greater God than their *Benamuckee*, who lived but a little way off, and yet could not hear them till they aſcended the great mountains where he dwelt, to ſpeak to him. What, ſaid I, Friday, did you go thither to ſpeak to him too? He anſwered, No, they never went that were young men, none but old men, called their *Oowakakee*, meaning the Indian Prieſts, who went to ſay *O*, (ſo he called ſaying their prayers), and they returned back, and told them what *Benamuckee* ſaid. From hence, I could not but obſerve how happy we Chriſtians are, who have God's immediate revelation for our certain guide; and that our faith is neither miſled, nor our reaſon impoſed upon, by any ſet of men, ſuch as theſe Indian Impoſtors.

But, to clear up this palpable cheat to my man Friday, I told him, that the pretence of their ancient men going up to the mountain to ſay O to their God *Benamuckee* was an impoſture, and that their bringing back an anſwer was all a ſham, if not worſe; for that, if there was any ſuch thing ſpoken to them, ſurely it muſt proceed from an infernal ſpirit. And here I thought it neceſſary to enter into a long diſcourſe with him, which I did after this manner.

Friday, ſaid I, you muſt know, that before this world was made, there was an Almighty Power exiſting, by whoſe power all things were made, and whoſe Majeſty ſhall have no end. To be glorified and adored by beings of a heavenly nature, he created angels and arch-angels, that is, glori-

fied ſpirits reſembling himſelf, to encompaſs his throne, eternally ſinging forth his praiſe in the moſt heavenly ſounds and divine harmony. And, among this heavenly choir, Lucifer bore a great ſway, as being then one of the peculiar favourites of theſe celeſtial abodes; but he, contrary to that duty he owed his heavenly Sovereign, with unbounded ingratitude to his divine Creator, not only envied him that adoration which was his due, but thought to uſurp that throne which he had neither power to keep, nor title to pretend to. He raiſed a diſſention and civil war in Heaven, and had a number of angels to take his part. Unbounded folly! ſtupendous pride! thus to hope for victory, and aſpire above his powerful Creator! The Deity, not fearful of ſuch an enemy, yet juſt'y provoked at this rebellion, commiſſioned his arch-angel Michael to lead forth the heavenly hoſt, and give him battle; the advantage of which was quickly perceived, by Satan's being overthrown, and the prince of the air (for ſo the devil was called) with all his fallen angels, driven headlong into a diſmal place, which is called *Hell*.

The recital of this truth made my man give the greateſt attention, and he expreſſed a great ſatisfaction by his geſtures, that God had ſent the devil into the deep hole. And then I deſired him to give great heed to what I had further to ſay.

No ſooner, proceeded I, was God freed from, and the Heavens clear of this arch-traitor, but the father ſpeaks to the Son and Holy Spirit, who belonged to his eſſence, and were equal to him in power and glory, *Come let us make man*, ſaid he, *in our own image, after our own likeneſs*, Gen. i. 26. to have dominion over the creatures of the world which we have created. And theſe he intended ſhould glorify him in Heaven, according to their obedience in this ſtate of probation on earth, which was, as it were, to be the ſchool to train them up for theſe heavenly manſions. Now, Satan ſeeing himſelf foiled; yet that God had not taken the power from him as prince of the air, which power Heaven deſigned he ſhould retain, whereby his creatures might be tried; in revenge for the diſgrace he had received, he tempts Adam's wife, Eve, to taſte of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which God had forbidden. He appears to her in the ſhape of a ſerpent, then a moſt beautiful creature, and tells her, that it was no better than an impoſition which God had put upon her and her huſband, not to eat of that fair

fruit which he had created; that the taſte thereof would make them immortal like God himſelf; and conſequently as great and powerful as he. Upon which ſhe not only eat thereof herſelf, but made her huſband eat alſo, which brought them both under the heavenly diſpleaſure.

Here Friday expreſſed a great concern; "Ah, poor "mans!" cried he, "naughty womans! naughty devil! "make God not love de mans make mans like devil himſelf."

Friday, ſaid I, God ſtill loved mankind, and though the devil tempted human nature ſo far, he would not ſuffer him to have an abſolute power over them. I have told you before of his tender love to his people, till they, like Lucifer, diſobeyed his commands and rebelled againſt him; and even then, how Jeſus Chriſt, his only Son, come to ſave ſinners. But ſtill every man that lives in the world is under temptation and trial. The devil has yet a power, as prince of the air, to ſuggeſt evil cogitations in our minds, and prompt us on to wicked actions, that he might glory in our deſtruction. Whatever evil thoughts we have, proceed from him; ſo that God, in this our diſtreſs, expects we ſhould apply ourſelves to him by fervent prayer for ſpeedy redreſs. He is not like *Benamuckee*, to let none come near him but *Otwackakee*, but ſuffers the people as well as prieſts to offer themſelves at his feet, thereby to be delivered from the power and temptation of the devil.

But though at firſt my man *Friday* expreſſed ſome concern at the wickedneſs of *Lucifer*, I found it not ſo eaſy to imprint the right notions of him in his mind, as it was about the divine eſſence of God: for there nature aſſiſted me in all my arguments, to ſhew to him plainly the neceſſity of a great firſt cauſe, and over-ruling, governing power, of a ſecret directing providence, and of the equity and reaſonableneſs of paying adoration to our Creator; whereas there appeared nothing of all this in the notion of an evil ſpirit, of his firſt beginning, his nature, and, above all, of his inclination to evil actions, and his power to tempt us to the like. And indeed this unlearned *Indian*, by the mere force of nature, puzzled me with one particular queſtion, more than ever I could have expected.

I had, it ſeems, one day, been talking to him of the omnipotent power of God, and his infinite abhorrence of ſin, inſomuch that the ſcriptures ſtyled him *a conſuming fire* to all the workers of iniquity; and that it was in his power,

whenever he pleaſed, to deſtroy all the world in a moment, the greater part of which are continually offending him.

When, with a ſerious attention, he had liſtened a great while to what I ſaid, after I had been telling him how the devil was God's enemy in the hearts of men, and uſed all his malice and ſkill to defeat the good deſigns of Providence, and deſtroy the kingdom of Chriſt in the world, and ſo forth: Very well, maſter, ſaid Friday, you ſay God is ſo ſtrong, ſo great, is he not much ſtrong, much mightier than the naughty devil? To be ſure, *Friday*, ſaid I, God is more wiſe and ſtronger than the ſerpent: he is above the devil, which makes us pray to him, that he would tread down *Satan* under his feet, enable us to reſiſt the violent temptations, and quench his fiery darts. "Why "then," anſwered Friday quickly, "if God, as you ſay, "has much ſtrong, much might as the devil, why God no "kill devil, make no more tempt, no more do wicked."

You may be certain, I was ſtrangely ſurpriſed at this queſtion of my man's; and, though an old man, I was but a young doctor, and conſequently very ill qualified for a caſuiſt, or a reſolver of intricate doubts in religion, and, as it required ſome time for me to ſtudy for an anſwer, I pretended not to hear him, nor to aſk him what he ſaid: but, ſo earneſt was he for an anſwer, as not to forget his queſtion, which he repeated in the very ſame broken words as above. When I had recovered myſelf a little, "Friday," ſaid I, "God will at laſt puniſh him ſeverely, being reſer- "ved for judgment, and is to be caſt into the bottomleſs pit, "to remain in fire everlaſting." But all this did not ſatisfy *Friday*; for, returning upon me, he repeated my words "RESERVE AT LAST, me no underſtand; but, why not "kill devil own, not kill devil, great, great while ago?" *Friday*, ſaid I, you may as well aſk me why God does not kill you and me, when, by our wicked actions, we ſo much offend his divine Majeſty? He gives us time to repent of our ſins, that thereby we may obtain pardon. At theſe words *obtain pardon*, *Friday* muſed a great while; and, at laſt, looking me ſtedfaſtly in the face, "Well, "well," ſaid he, "that's very well; ſo you, I, devil, all "wicked mans, all preſerve, repent, God pardon all."

Indeed, here I was run down to the laſt extremity, when it became very evident to me, how mere natural notions will guide reaſonable creatures to the knowledge of a Deity, and to the homage due to the ſupreme being of

God; but, however, nothing but divine revelation can form the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, and of a redemption purchaſed for us, of the mediator of the new covenant, and of an interceſſor at the footſtool of God's throne: and, therefore, the goſpel of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; that is, the Word and Spirit of God, promiſed for the guide and ſanctifier of his people, are the moſt neceſſary inſtructors of the ſouls of men, in the ſaving knowledge of the Almighty, and the means to attain eternal happineſs.

And now I found it neceſſary to put an end to this diſcourſe between my man and me; for which purpoſe I roſe up haſtily, and made as if I had ſome occaſion to go out, ſending *Friday* for ſomething that was a good way off. I then fell on my knees and beſeeched God that he would inſpire me ſo far as to guide this poor ſavage in the knowledge of Chriſt, to anſwer his queſtions more clearly, that his conſcience might be convinced, his eyes opened, and his ſoul ſaved. When he returned again, I entered into a very long diſcourſe with him, upon the ſubject of the world's redemption by the Saviour of it, and the doctrine of repentance preached from Heaven, together with an holy faith of our bleſſed Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt: and then I proceeded to explain to him, according to my weak capacity, the reaſon why our Saviour took not on him the nature of angels, but rather the ſeed of *Abraham*; and how the fallen angels had no benefit by that redemption; and, laſtly, that he came only to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of *Iſrael*, and the like. God knows I had more ſincerity than knowledge in all the ways I took for this poor *Indian's* inſtruction: and, I muſt acknowledge, what I believe every body that acts upon the ſame principle will find, that in laying heavenly truths open before him, I informed and inſtructed myſelf in many things that either I did not know, or had not perfectly conſidered before; ſo that, however this poor creature might be improved by my inſtructions, certain it is, that I myſelf had great reaſon to be thankful to Providence for ſending him to me. His company allayed my grief, and made my habitation comfortable; and, when I reflected that the ſolitary life to which I had been ſo long confined, had made me to look further towards Heaven, by making me the inſtrument, under Providence, to ſave the life, and for ought I know, the ſoul of this poor ſavage, by bringing him to the know-

ledge of Jeſus Chriſt, it cauſed a ſecret joy to ſpread through every part of my ſoul; and I frequently rejoiced, that ever I was brought to this place, which I once thought the moſt miſerable part of the world.

In this thankful frame of mind did I afterwards continue, while I abode on the iſland, and for three years did my man and I live in the greateſt enjoyment of happineſs. Indeed, I believe the ſavage was as good a Chriſtian as I; and I hope we were equally penitent; and ſuch penitents as were comforted and reſtored by God's Holy Spirit; for now we had the word of the Lord to inſtruct us in the right way, as much as if we had been on the Engliſh ſhore.

By the conſtant application I made of the Scriptures, as I read them to my man Friday, I earneſtly endeavoured to make him underſtand every part of it, as much as lay in my power. He alſo, on the other hand, by his very ſerious queſtions and inquiries, made me a much better proficient in ſcripture knowledge, than I ſhould have been by my own private reading and ſtudy. I muſt not omit another thing, proceeding from the experience I had in my retirement: It was that infinite and inexpreſſible bleſſing, the knowledge of God through Jeſus Chriſt, which was ſo plain and eaſy to be underſtood, as immediately to direct me to carry on the great work of ſincere repentance for my ſins, and laying hold of a Saviour for eternal life, to a practical ſtated reformation, and obedience to all God's inſtitutions, without the aſſiſtance of a reverend and orthodox divine; and eſpecially by this ſame inſtruction, ſo to enlighten this ſavage creature, as to make him ſo good a Chriſtian, as very few could exceed him. And there was only this great thing wanting that I had no authority to adminiſter the holy ſacrament, that heavenly participation of Chriſt's body and blood, yet, however, we reſted ourſelves content, that God would accept our deſires, and according to our faith, have mercy on us.

But what we wanted one way, was made up in another, and that was univerſal peace in our little church. We had no diſputes and wranglings about the nature and equality of the holy, bleſſed, and undivided Trinity; no nicities in doctrine, or ſchemes of church government; no ſour or moroſe diſſenters to impoſe more ſublimated notions upon us; no pedant ſophiſters to confound us with unintelligible myſteries: but, inſtead of all this we enjoyed the moſt certain guide to heaven; that is, the word of God: be-

ſides which, we had the comfortable views of his ſpirit leading us to the truth, and making us both willing and obedient to the inſtruction of his word. As the knowledge and practice of this are the principal means of ſalvation, I cannot ſee what it avails any Chriſtian church, or man in the world, to amuſe himſelf with ſpeculations and opinions, except it be to diſplay their particnlar vanity and affectation.

You may well ſuppoſe, that, by the frequent diſcourſe we had together, my man and I became moſt intimately acquainted, and that there was but very little that I could ſay, but what Friday underſtood; and indeed, he ſpoke very fluently, though it was but broken Engliſh. I now took a particular pleaſure in relating all my adventures, eſpecially thoſe that occurred ſince my being caſt on this iſland. I made him underſtand that wonderful myſtery, as he conceived, of gunpowder and bullet, and taught him how to ſhoot. I alſo preſented to him a knife, which pleaſed him exceedingly, making him a belt, with a frog hanging thereto, like thoſe in which we wear hangers in England; and, inſtead of a hanger to put in the frog, I gave him a hatchet, which was not only as good, but even a better weapon upon many occaſions. In a word, my man thus accoutred, looked upon himſelf as great as Don Quixote, when that celebrated champion went to combat the wind-mill.

I next gave him a very particular deſcription of the territories of Europe, and in a particular manner of Old England, the place of my nativity. I laid before him the manner of our worſhipping God, our behaviour one to another, and how we trade in ſhips to every part of the univerſe. I then told him my misfortunes in being ſhipwrecked, ſhowing him, as near as I could, the place where the ſhip lay, which had been gone long before; but I brought him to the ruins of my boat, which before my whole ſtrength could not move, but now was almoſt rotten, and fallen to pieces. I obſerved my man Friday to view this boat with an uncommon curioſity; which, when he had done, he ſtood pondering a great while, and ſaid nothing. At laſt, ſaid I, Friday, what makes you ponder ſo much? He replied, "O maſter, me ſee like boat come "to place at my nation."

It was ſome time, indeed, before I underſtood what my man meant; but examining ſtrictly into it, I plainly found,

that ſuch another boat, reſembling mine, had come upon the country where he dwelt; that is to ſay, by his farther explanation, that the boat was driven there through ſtreſs of weather. It then came into my mind, that ſome European ſhip having been caſt away, the poor diſtreſſed creatures were forced to have recourſe to the boat to ſave their lives; and being all, as I thought drowned, I never concerned myſelf to aſk any thing concerning them, but my only inquiry was about the boat, and what deſcription my man could give of it.

Indeed Friday anſwered my demands very well, making every thing very plain to my underſtanding; but beyond meaſure was I ſatisfied, when he told me with great warmth and ardour, "O maſter, we ſave white mans from "drown;" upon which I immediately aſked him, if there were any *white mans*, as he called them, in the boat; "Yes, yes," ſaid he, "the boat full, very full of white "mans." How many, Friday? ſaid I. Hereupon he numbered his fingers, and counted ſeventeen. And when I aſked him what became of them all, and whether they lived or not? he replied, "Yes, maſter, they all live, they "be live among my nation." This information put freſh thoughts into my head that theſe muſt be thoſe very men who before I concluded had been ſwallowed up in the ocean, after they had left their ſhip, that had ſtruck upon the rocks of my kingdom, and after eſcaping the fury of the deep, landed upon the wild ſhore, and committed themſelves to the fury of the devouring Indians.

The manner of their cruelties to one another, which conſequently, as I thought, muſt be acted with greater barbarity to ſtrangers, created in me a great anxiety, and made me ſtill more curious to aſk Friday concerning them. He told me he was ſure they ſtill lived there, having reſided among them above four years, and that the ſavages gave them victuals to live upon: But pray, Friday, ſaid I, whence proceeded all this good nature and generoſity? How came it to paſs that they did not kill and eat them, to pleaſe their devouring appetites; and occaſion ſo ſplendid an entertainment among them? "No, no," ſaid Friday, "they "not kill 'em, they make brother with 'em;" by which I underſtood there was a truce between them. And then I had a more favourable opinion of the Indians, upon Friday's uttering theſe words: "My nation t' other nation no "eat mans, but when mans make war fight;" as though

he had ſaid, that neither thoſe of his kingdom, nor any other nations that he knew of, ever ate their fellow-creatures, but ſuch as their law of arms allowed to be devoured; that is, thoſe miſerable captives, whoſe misfortune it ſhould be to be made priſoners of war.

Some conſiderable time after, upon a very pleaſant day, in moſt ſerene weather, my man and I ſtood upon the top of a hill, on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, whence I had once before beheld the continent of America. I could not tell immediately what was the matter; for ſuddenly Friday fell a jumping and dancing as if he had been mad; and upon my demanding the reaſon of his behaviour, "O "joy" ſaid he, "O glad! there ſee my country, there "my nation, there live white mans gether." And indeed ſuch a raptureous ſenſe of pleaſure appeared in his countenance, that his eyes had an uncommon ſparkling and brightneſs, and ſuch a ſtrange eagerneſs, as if he had a longing deſire to be in his own country again. This made me not ſo well ſatisfied with my man Friday as before; for by this appearance, I made no diſpute, but that if he could get back thither again, he would not only be unmindful of what religion I had taught him, but likewiſe of the great obligation he owed me for his wonderful deliverance: nay, that he would not only inform his countrymen of me, but accompany hundreds of them to my kingdom, and make me a miſerable ſacrifice like thoſe unhappy wretches taken in battle.

Indeed I was very much to blame to have theſe cruel and unjuſt ſuſpicions, and muſt freely own I wronged the poor creature very much, who was of a quite contrary temper. And had he had that diſcerning acuteneſs which many Europeans have, he would certainly have perceived my coldneſs and indifference, and alſo have been very much concerned upon that account: as I was now more circumſpect, I had much leſſened my kindneſs and familiarity with him, and while this jealouſy continued, I uſed that artful way (now too much in faſhion, the occaſion of ſtrife and diſſention) of pumping him daily, thereby to diſcover whether he was deceitful in his thoughts and inclinations; but certainly he had nothing in him but what was conſiſtent with the beſt principles, both as a religious Chriſtian and a grateful friend; and, indeed, I found every thing he ſaid was ſo ingenuous and innocent, that I had no room for ſuſpicion, and, in ſpite of all uneaſineſs, he not

only made me entirely his own again, but alſo cauſed me much to lament that I ever conceived one ill thought of him.

As we were walking up the ſame hill another day, when the weather was ſo hazy at ſea, that I could not perceive the continent, Friday, ſaid I, don't you wiſh yourſelf to be in your own country, your nation, among your old friends and acquaintances "Yes," ſaid he, "me much "O glad to be at my own nation." And what would you do there Friday? Would you turn wild again, eat man's fleſh, and be a ſavage as you were formerly? "No, "no," (anſwered he, full of concern, and ſhaking his head) "Friday now tell them to live good, tell them pray "God, tell them to eat corn bread, cattle, fleſh, milk, no "eat man again." But ſurely, replied I, if you ſhould offer to do all this, they will kill you; and to manifeſt their contempt of ſuch inſtruction, eat you up when they have done. He then put on a grave, yet innocent and ſmooth countenance, ſaying, "No, they no kill me, they willing "love learn:" that is, that they would be very willing to learn: adding withal, "that they had learned much of "the bearded mans that came in the boat." Will you, ſaid I, go back again, Friday? he ſmiled at that, and told me, that he could not ſwim ſo far. But ſaid I, I will make a canoe for you: "Yes, maſter," ſaid he, "me "go if you go, me no go if you ſtay." I go, Friday! why, you would have them to eat me up, and devour your kind maſter? "No, no," ſaid he, "me make them not "eat maſter, and me make them much love you;" that is, he would tell them how I had ſlain his enemies, and thereby ſaved his life, for which reaſon he would make them love me: and then he related to me, as well as he was able, how exceeding kind thoſe of his nation were to the white, or bearded men, as he called them, who, in their great calamity, were driven into their country.

It was from this time, indeed, I had ſtrong inclinations to venture over, and uſe my utmoſt efforts, if poſſible, to join theſe white bearded men, who undoubtedly were Spaniards or Portugueſe; for, thought I, it muſt be certainly a better and ſafer way to eſcape when there is a good company, than for me alone, from an iſland forty miles off the ſhore, and without any aſſiſtance. Some days after, Friday and I being at work, as uſual, at the ſame time diverting ourſelves with various diſcourſes, I told him I had

a boat which I would beſtow upon him, whenever he pleaſed to return to his own nation: and to convince him of the truth of what I ſaid, I took him with me to the other ſide of the iſland, where my frigate lay, and then taking it from under the water (for I always kept it ſunk for fear of a diſcovery) we both went into it to ſee how it would manage ſuch an expedition.

And really never could any be more dexterous in rowing than my faithful ſervant, making the boat go as faſt again as I could. Well, now, Friday, ſaid I, ſhall we now go to your ſo much deſired nation? But inſtead of meeting with that cheerfulneſs I expected, he looked very dull and melancholy at my ſaying ſo; which indeed at firſt ſurpriſed me, till he made me ſenſible, that his concern was about the boat's being too ſmall to go ſo far a voyage. Upon which I let him underſtand I had a much bigger; and, accordingly, the next day went to the place where the firſt boat lay, which I had made, when all the ſtrength I had, or art I could uſe, failed me in my attempt to get it into the water: but now it having lain in the ſun two and twenty years, and no care being taken of it all that while, it became in a manner rotten. My man told me, that ſuch a boat would do very well for the purpoſe, ſufficient to carry *enough victuals, drink, bread*, for that was his manner of talking. In ſhort, my mind being ſtrongly fixed upon my deſign of going over with him to the continent, I very plainly told him, that we would both go and make a boat full as big, and more proportionable than that, wherein he might ſafely return to his own nation.

Theſe words made Friday look ſo very penſive, that I thought he would have fallen at my feet. It was ſome time before he could ſpeak a word, which made me aſk him, what was the matter with him? He replied, in a very ſoft and moving tone, "What has poor Friday done? why are "you angry mad with poor ſervant? what me done, O "what me done?" Friday, ſaid I, you never yet have offended me: what makes you think I am angry with you, when I am not angry at all, "You no angry, no angry," ſaid he ſeveral times; "if you be no angry, why den ſend "Friday over great water to my own nation?" Why, ſurely, Friday, anſwered I, did not you wiſh to be there, when, from a mountain, you beheld the place where you was born? and is it not to ſatisfy your deſires that I am willing to give you leave to return thither? "Yes, yes,"

ſaid Friday, "me wiſh be there ſure enough, but me den "wiſh maſter there too: no wiſh Friday there, no maſter "there." In ſhort, he could not endure the thoughts of going there without me. I go there, Friday ſaid I, what ſhall I do there?—He anſwered very quickly, "O maſter, "you do great deal much good, you teach all de wild "mans to be good tame mans: you learn dem to be ſober, "live good life, to know God, and pray God." Alas! poor Friday, ſaid I, what can I do againſt their prieſts of Benamuckee, or indeed what good can I make your nation ſenſible of, when I myſelf am but a poor ignorant man? "No, no, maſter," ſaid he, "you be no ignorant, you "teachee me good, you teachee dem good." You ſhall go without me, Friday, ſaid I, for I don't care to accompany you thither; I would rather live in this ſolitude than venture among ſuch inhuman ſavages. Go your way, ſince you deſire it, and leave me alone by myſelf, as I was before I ſaved your life.

Never was any creature more thunderſtruck than *Friday* was at theſe words. "Go me away, leave maſter "away," ſaid he, after a long ſilence, *no, no*, Friday *die*, Friday *live not maſter gone*; as though he had ſaid, I neither can nor will live, if my maſter ſends me from him. And here I cannot but take notice of the ſtrong ties of friendſhip, which many times ſurpaſs thoſe of conſanguinity: For often we find a great diſagreement among kindred; and when there is any ſeeming regard for each other, it is very ſeldom true, and ſcarce ever laſting, if powerful intereſt does not bear the ſway; and that alone is often the occaſion of the greateſt hatred in the world, which is to deſire the death of parents and relations, for the ſake of acquiring their fortunes. But there was no ſuch thing between my ſervant and me: inſtead of which there was the greateſt gratitude, and the moſt ſincere love; he found me not only his deliverer, but his preſerver and comforter; not a ſevere and cruel tyrant, but a kind, loving, and affable friend. He wanted for no manner of ſuſtenance; and, when he was ill, or out of order, I was his phyſician, not only for his body, but his ſoul; and therefore no wonder was it, that ſuch an innocent creature, long ſince diveſted of his former natural cruelty, ſhould have an uncommon concern at ſo cruel a ſeparation from me, which pierced him to the very ſoul, and made him deſire even to die, rather than live without me.

After I had told *Friday*, in a very careleſs manner, that he ſhould be at his liberty as ſoon as the boat was made, the language of his eyes expreſſed all imaginable confuſion; when, immediatel, running to one of his hatchets, which he uſed to wear as a defenſive weapon, he gives it into my hand, with a heart ſo full, that he could ſcarcely ſpeak. *Friday*, ſaid I, what is it you mean? What muſt I do with this? "Only kill Friday," ſaid he. "Friday care not "live long." But what muſt I kill you for? replied I again "Ah! dear maſter, what made you Friday ſave "from eat a me up, ſo keep long Friday, make Friday "love God, and not love Benamuckee, and now Friday "ſend away, never ſee Friday more." As though the poor creature had ſaid, Alas, my deareſt kind maſter, how comes it to paſs, that, after having ventured your precious life to ſave me from the jaws of devouring cannibals like myſelf, after ſuch a tender regard to provide for me ſuch a comfortable nouriſhment, and continuing ſo long a kind maſter, and a moſt ſincere friend; and after making me forſake the falſe notion of an Indian deity, and worſhip the true God in ſpirit and in truth; after all this, how comes it now, that you are willing to ſend me away to my former courſe of living, by which means undoubtedly we ſhall be dead to each other; but greater muſt be my misfortune, that I ſhall never behold my beſt friend I have in the world any more. And this undoubtedly, though he could not expreſs himſelf ſo clearly, muſt be his ſentiments; for the tears ran down his cheeks in ſuch a plentiful manner, that I had much ado to refra n from weeping alſo, when I beheld the poor creature's affection: ſo that I was forced to comfort him in the beſt manner I could, which I did, by telling him, if he was content to abide with me, I ſhould be ever willing to keep him.

After Friday's grief was ſomething abated, more fully to convince me of his affection, he ſaid, "O maſter, me "not care to be in my nation, leave you here; me deſire "nation learn good, that's all;" meaning, that his deſire was for the converſion of that barbarous people. But as I had no apoſtolic miſſion, nor any concern about their ſalvation; ſo I had not the leaſt intention or deſire of undertaking it; and the ſtrength of my inclination, in order to eſcape, proceeded chiefly from my late diſcourſe with Friday, about theſe ſeventeen white bearded men, that had been driven upon the Barbarian coaſt; whom I deſigned to

join, as the only means to further our eſcape. To which intent my man and I went to ſearch for a proper tree to fell, whereof we might make a large periagua or canoe, to undertake the voyage; and, indeed, we were not long in finding one fit for our purpoſe, there being enough of wood in the iſland to have built a fleet of large veſſels, but the thing we principally wanted was to get one ſo near the water, that we might launch it after it was finiſhed, and not commit ſo horrid a miſtake as I had done once before.

Well, after a great ſearch for what was beſt and moſt convenient, Friday at laſt, whoſe judgment in ſuch affairs was much ſuperior to mine, pitches upon a kind of wood the moſt fitting for it. To this day I cannot tell the name of the tree, nor deſcribe it any other way, than only by ſaying, that it is very like that we call *fuſtic*, or between that and the Nicaragua wood, being much of the ſame colour and ſmell. But though my man exceeded me in the knowledge of the moſt proper tree, yet I ſhewed him a much better and cleaner way to make a canoe than ever he knew before: for he was for burning the hollow or cavity of the tree, in order to make this boat; but I then told him how we might do it with tools, learning him at the ſame time how to uſe them, which indeed he did very dexterouſly; ſo that in a month's time we finiſhed it, making it very handſome, by cutting the outſide in the true ſhape of a boat. After this it took us a full fortnight before we could get her into the water, which we did, as it were, inch by inch, upon great rollers: but when ſhe was in, ſhe would have carried twenty men, with all the eaſe imaginable.

As I was very well pleaſed, you may be ſure, at the launching of this man of war of mine, I was no leſs amazed to behold with what dexterity my man would manage her, turn her, and paddle her along. Well, Friday, ſaid I, what do you think of it now? Do you think this will carry us over? "Yes, maſter," ſaid he "me ven-"ture over well, though great blow wind." But my deſign was yet farther, which he was inſenſible of; and that to make a maſt and ſail, and to provide her with an anchor and cable. As to a maſt, that was no difficult thing at all to procure: ſo I fixed upon a ſtraight young cedar-tree, which I found near the place, great plenty of it abounding in the iſland; and ſetting Friday to cut it down, I gave him particular directions how to ſhape and order it; but as

to the ſail, that I managed myſelf. I very well knew I had ſome old ones, or pieces of ſails enough, which had lain ſix and twenty years by me; but not being careful to preſerve them, as thinking I ſhould have no occaſion to uſe them any more, when I came to look over them, I found them almoſt all rotten, except two; and with theſe I went to work, and after a great deal of pains and awkard tedious ſtitching for want of needles, at length I finiſhed a three-cornered ugly thing like that we call in England a ſhoulder of mutton ſail, to go with a boom at bottom, and a little ſmall ſprit at the top, like thoſe which our long-boats uſe, and which I very well knew how to manage; eſpecially ſince it was like that which I had in my patron's fiſhing boat, when, with my boy Xury, I made my eſcape from the Barbarian ſhore.

It was near two months, I think, before I completed this work, that is, the rigging, and fitting my maſt and ſails; and indeed they were nicely done, having made a ſmall ſtay, and a ſail, or foreſail to it, to aſſiſt, if we ſhould turn to the weſtward; and, which was ſtill more, I fixed a rudder to the ſtern of her, to ſteer with; and though I was but a very indifferent ſhipwright, yet as, I was ſenſible of the great uſefulneſs and abſolute neceſſity of a thing like this, I applied myſelf to it with ſuch a conſtant application, that at laſt I accompliſhed my deſign; but what with the many dull contrivances I had about it, and the failure of many things, it coſt me as much pains in ordering as in making the boat. Beſides, when all this was done, I had my man to teach what belonged to its navigation: for though he very well underſtood how to paddle a canoe along, he was an utter ſtranger to a ſail and a rudder, and was amazed when he ſaw me work the boat to and again in the ſea, by them, and how the ſail gibbed and filled this way or that way, as the courſe we ſailed changed. After ſome time and a little uſe, I made all theſe things very familiar to him, ſo that he became an expert ſailor, except in relation to the compaſs, and that I could make him underſtand but little of. But as it happened, there was ſeldom occaſion for it, there being but little cloudy weather, and ſcarce any fog in thoſe parts; the ſtars were always viſible in the night, and the ſhore perſpicuous by day, except in the rainy ſeaſon, which confined every one to his habitation. Thus entered in the ſeven and twentieth year of my reign, or captivity, which you pleaſe, (the

laſt three of which, bleſſed with the company of my man Friday, ought not to be reckoned) I kept the anniverſary of my landing here, with the ſame thankfulneſs to God, for his tender mercies, as I did before; and certainly, as I had great cauſe for a thankful acknowledgment for my deliverance at firſt, I had much greater now for ſuch ſingular and additional teſtimonies of the care of Providence over me, in all my d ſtreſſes of both body and mind, and the great hopes I had of being effectually and ſpeedily delivered; for I had a ſtrong impreſſion upon my mind, that I ſhould not be another year in this iſland. But, however, I ſtill continued on with my huſbandry, digging, planting, and fencing, as uſual; gathering and curing my grapes, and doing all other things that were neceſſary.

And now the rainy ſeaſon beginning to come on, obliged me to keep the longer within doors; but before this, I brought my new veſſel into the creek, where I had landed my rafts from the ſhip, and haling her up to the ſhore, I ordered my man Friday to dig a dock ſufficient to hold her in, and deep enough to give her water, wherein ſhe might float; and then when the tide was out, we made a ſtrong dam croſs the end of it, to keep out the water; by which means ſhe lay dry, as to the tide from the ſea; and to keep the rain from her, we thatched her over, as it were with boughs of trees, like a houſe; ſo we waited for the months of November and December, in which I deſigned to venture over the ocean.

No ſooner did the ſeaſonable weather begin to draw near, but ſo much was I elevated with this new deſigned adventure, that I daily prepared for the voyage. The firſt thing I thought on was, to lay by a certain quantity of proviſions, as a ſufficient ſtore for ſuch an expedition, intending in a week or a fortnight's time to open the dock, and launch out the boat for that purpoſe. But one morning as I was very buſy upon ſomething neceſſary for this occaſion, I called Friday to me, and bid him go to the ſea ſhore, and ſee if he could find a turtle or tortoiſe, a thing which we commonly had once a-week, as much upon account of the eggs, as for the ſake of the fleſh. He had not been long gone, but he came running back, as though he was purſued for life, and as it were flew over my outer wall, or fence, like one that felt not the ground, or ſteps he ſet his feet on; and before I had time to inquire the reaſon of his precipitation, he cries out, "O dear ma-

" ſter, O ſorrow! ſorrow! Bad! O bad!" Why, what's the matter Friday? ſaid I. " O, yonder, yonder," ſaid he, " there be one, two, or three canoes! two, three." Surely (thought I) there muſt be ſix, by my man's way of reckoning; but on a ſtricter inquiry, I found there were but three. Well, Friday, ſaid I, don't be terrified, I warrant you we will not only defend ourſelves againſt them, but kill the moſt of theſe cruel ſavages. But though I comforted him in the beſt manner I could, the poor creature trembled ſo, that I ſcarce knew what to do with him: " O, maſter," ſaid he, " they come look *Friday*, cut " pieces *Friday*, cut a me up." Why, Friday, ſaid I, they will eat me up as well as you, and my danger is as great as yours. But ſince it is ſo, we muſt reſolve to fight for our lives. What ſay you? can you fight, Friday, " Yes," ſaid he, very faintly, " me ſhoot, me kill what " I can, but there come great many number." That's no matter, ſaid I again, our guns will terrify thoſe that we do not kill; I am very willing to ſtand by you to the laſt drop of my blood. Now, tell me, if you will do the like by me, and obey my orders in whatſoever I command? Friday then anſwered, " O maſter, me loſe life for you, " me die when you bid die." Thus concluding all queſtions concerning his fidelity, immediately I fetched him a good dram of rum, (of which I had been a very good huſband and gave it him to comfort his heart. After he had drank it, I ordered him to take the two fowling pieces, which we always carried, and load them with large ſwan ſhot, as big as ſmall piſtol bullets; then I took four muſkets, and loaded them with two ſlugs, and five ſmall bullets each; charging my two piſtols each with a brace, I hung my great ſword, as cuſtomary, naked to my ſide, and gave Friday his hatchet, as a moſt excellent weapon for defence.

Thus prepared, I thought as well of myſelf as any knight-errant that ever handled a ſword and ſpear. I took my perſpective glaſs, and went up to the ſide of the hill, to ſee what I could diſcover; and I perceived very ſoon, by my glaſs, that there were one and twenty ſavages, three priſoners and three canoes, and that their chief concern ſeemed to be the triumphant banquet upon the three poor human bodies, a thing which by this time I had obſerved was very common with them. I alſo remarked, that they did not land at that place from whence Friday made his

eſcape, but nearer to the creek, where the ſhore was low, and where a thick wood came very cloſe to the ſea. My ſoul was then filled with indignation and abhorrence at ſuch inhuman wretches, which put a period to all my former thoughts in their vindication, neither would I give myſelf time to conſider their right of conqueſt, as I had done before: but deſcending from the mountain, I came down to Friday, and told him, I was reſolved to go ſpeedily to them, and kill them all; aſking him again, in the ſame breath, if he would ſtand by me: When by this time being recovered from his fright, and his ſpirit much cheered with the dram I had given him, he was very pleaſant; yet ſeriouſly telling me, as he did before, "When I bid die, "he would die."

And now it was, having fixed my reſolution in ſo ſtrong a manner, that nothing could diveſt my breaſt of its uncommon fury. I immediately divided the loaded arms betwixt us. To my man Friday I gave a piſtol to ſtick in his girdle, with three guns upon his ſhoulder, a weight too great I confeſs to bear; but what muſt a poor king do, who had but one ſoldier in the world? But to ſhew I made him bear no more than what I would lay on myſelf, I ſtuck the other piſtol in my girdle, and the other three guns upon my ſhoulders: nay ſomething more, but that was like Æſop's burden, a ſmall bottle of rum, which was ſoon lightened to our exceeding refreſhment. Thus we marched out, under a ponderous load of armour, like two invincible champions, with a quantity of powder and bullets to ſtand our battle, and load again, when the pieces were diſcharged. And now my orders being to be obeyed, I charged Friday to keep cloſe behind me, and not to ſtir, or ſhoot, or attempt any thing till I commanded him; and, in the interim, not to ſpeak ſo much as one word. It was in this order I fetched a compaſs to the right hand, of near a mile, as well to get over the creek, as to attain the wood; and by this, I thought to come within ſhot of them before I could be diſcerned, as I found by my glaſs, would not be difficult to accompliſh.

But how fickle and wavering is the mind of men, even in our greateſt fury and ſtrongeſt inclinations? For while I was taking this march, my reſolution began to abate, not through fear of their numbers, who were a parcel of naked unarmed wretches, but thoſe reflections occurred to my thoughts: what power was I commiſſioned with, or

what occaſion or neceſſity had I to go and imbrue my hands in human blood, and murder people that had neither done nor intended to do me any wrong? They were innocent in particular as to me; and their barbarous cuſtom was not only their misfortune but a ſign that God had left them in the moſt immenſe ſtupidity; but yet did not warrant me to be a judge of their actions, much leſs an executioner of his righteous judgments: That, on the contrary, whenever he thought fit, he would take vengeance on them himſelf, and puniſh them in a national way, according to their national crimes; but this was nothing at all to me, who had no concern with them. Indeed my man *Friday* might juſtify himſelf, becauſe they were his declared enemies, of that very ſame nation that went to ſacrifice him before; and, indeed, it was lawful for him to attack them, which I could not ſay was ſo with reſpect to me. So warmly did theſe things preſs upon my thoughts all the way I went, that I only reſolved to place myſelf ſo as to behold their bloody entertainment, without falling upon them, except ſomething more than ordinary, by God's ſpecial direction, ſhould oblige me thereto.

Thus fixed in my reſolution, I entered into the thick wood, (my man *Friday* following me cloſe behind) when with all poſſible warineſs and ſilence, I marched till I came to the ſkirt of it, on that ſide which was the neareſt to them; for only one end of the wood interpoſed between me and them. Upon which I called very ſoftly to *Friday*; and ſhewing him a great tree, that was juſt at the corner of the wood, I ordered him to repair thither, and bring me word, if he could plainly perceive their actions; accordingly, he did as I commanded him, and came back with this melancholy ſtory, that they were all about their fire, eating the fleſh of one of their priſoners; and that another lay bound upon the ſand, at little diſtant from them, which they deſigned for their next ſacrifice; and this, he told me, was not one of their nation, but one of thoſe very bearded men, who was driven by a ſtorm into their country, and of whom he had ſo often talked to me about. You may be ſure, that upon hearing this, my ſoul was ready to ſink within me: when aſcending up into a tree, I ſaw plainly, by my glaſs, a white man, who lay upon the beach of the ſea, with his hands and feet tied with flags, or things reſembling ruſhes, being covered with clothes, and ſeemed to be an *European*. From the tree where I took

this proſpect I perceived another tree, and a thicket beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them than where I was, which, by taking a ſmall circle round, I might come at undiſcovered and then I ſhould be within half a ſhot of theſe devourers. And this conſideration alone, to be more perfectly revenged upon them, made me withold my paſſion, though I was enraged to the higheſt degree imaginable; when going back about twenty paces, I got behind ſome buſhes, which held all the way till I came to the other tree; and then I aſcended to a little riſing ground, not above eighteen yards diſtance, and there I had a full view of theſe creatures, and I could perceive all their actions.

Such a ſight did then appear, as obliged me not to loſe a moment's time. No leſs than nineteen of theſe dreadful wretches ſat upon the ground, cloſe huddled together, expreſſing all the delight imaginable at ſo barbarous an entertainment; and they had juſt ſent the other two to murder this poor unhappy *Chriſtian*, and bring him limb by limb to their fire; for they were then juſt going to untie the bands from his feet, in order for death, as fetters are knocked off the feet of malefactors before they go to the place of execution. Hereupon, immediately turning to my man, Now, *Friday*, ſaid I, mind what I ſay, fail in nothing, but do exactly as you ſee me do. All which he promiſing he would perform, I ſet down one of my muſkets, and the fowling piece upon the ground, and *Friday* did the ſame by his; and with the other muſket I took my aim at the ſavages, bidding him to do the like: Are you ready, ſaid I; *Yes Maſter*, ſaid he, why then fire at them, ſaid I; and at that very moment I gave fire likewiſe.

I only killed one, and wounded two; but my man *Friday*, taking his aim much better than I, killed two, and wounded three. You may be ſure they were in a dreadful conſternation, at ſuch an unexpected diſaſter; and thoſe who yet had eſcaped our penetrating ſhot, immediately jumped upon their feet, but were in ſuch a confuſion, that they knew not which way to run or look; not knowing from whence their deſtruction came. We threw down our pieces, and took up others, giving a ſecond dreadful volley; but as they were loaded only with ſwan ſhot, or ſmall piſtol bullets, we perceived only two of them fall; though many were wounded, who run yelling and ſcreaming about

like mad creatures. Now, *Friday*, ſaid I, lay down your piece, and take up the muſket, and follow me. He did ſo, with great courage, when ſhewing ourſelves to the ſavages, we gave a great ſhout, and made directly to the poor victim, who would have been ſacrificed, had not our firſt fire obliged the butchers, with three others, to jump into a canoe. By my order, *Friday* fired at them, at which ſhot I thought he had killed them all, by reaſon of their falling to the bottom of the boat; however, he killed two, and mortally wounded a third. In the mean time, I cut the flags that tied the hands and feet of the poor creature, and lifting him up, aſked him in the *Portugueſe* tongue, *What he was?* He anſwered me in *Latin*, *Chriſtianus:* but ſo very weak and faint, that, he could ſcarce ſtand or ſpeak. Immediately I gave him a dram, and a piece of bread to cheriſh him, and aſked him, What countryman he was? He ſaid *Eſpaniola*, and then uttered all the thankfulneſs imaginable for his deliverance. *Signior*, (ſaid I, with as much *Spaniſh* as I was maſter of) let us talk afterwards, but fight now; here, take this ſword and piſtol, and do what you can. And, indeed, he did ſo with ſuch courage and intrepidity, that he cut two of them to pieces in an inſtant, the ſavages not having the power to fly for their lives. I ordered *Friday* to run for thoſe pieces we had left at the tree, which he brought me with great ſwiftneſs, and then I gave him my muſket, while I loaded the reſt. But now there happened a fierce encounter between the *Spaniard* and one of the ſavages, who had made at him with one of their wooden ſwords; and though the former was as brave as could be expected, having twice wounded his enemy in the head; yet being weak and faint, the *Indian* had thrown him upon the ground, and was wreſting my ſword out of his hand, which the *Spaniard* very wiſely quitting drew out his piſtol, and ſhot him through the body before I could come near him, though I was running to his aſſiſtance. As to *Friday*, he purſued the flying wretches with his hatchet, deſpatching three, but the reſt were too nimble for him. The *Spaniard* taking one of the fowling pieces, wounded two, who running into the wood, *Friday* purſued and killed; but the other notwithſtanding his wounds, plunged himſelf into the ſea, and ſwam to thoſe who were left in the canoe, which with one wounded, were all that eſcaped out of one and twenty. The account is as follows:

Killed at firſt ſhot from the tree,	3
At the ſecond ſhot	2
By Friday in the boat,	2
Ditto, of thoſe firſt wounded,	2
Ditto, in the wood,	1
By the Spaniard,	3
Killed or died of their wounds,	4
Eſcaped in the boat, whereof one wounded, if not ſlain,	4
Total	21

The ſavages in the canoe worked very hard to get out of our reach, and *Friday* was as eager in purſuing them; and, indeed, I was no leſs anxious about their eſcape, leſt, after the news had been carried to their people, they ſhould return in multitudes, and deſtroy us. So being reſolved to purſue them, I jumped into one of their canoes, and bid Friday follow me; but no ſooner was I in, than, to my ſurpriſe, I found another poor creature, bound hand and foot for the ſlaughter, juſt as the *Spaniard* had been, with very little life in him. Immediately I unbound him, and would have helped him up: but he could neither ſtand nor ſpeak, but groaned ſo piteouſly, as thinking he was only unbound in order to be ſlain. Hereupon I bid Friday ſpeak to him, and tell him of his deliverance; when pulling out my bottle, I made the poor wretch drink a dram, which, with the joyful news he had received, ſo revived his heart, that he ſat up in the boat. As ſoon as Friday began to hear him ſpeak, and look more fully in his face, it would have moved any one to tears to perceive his uncommon tranſports of joy; for he kiſſed, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, hallooed, jumped about, danced, ſung, then cried again, wrung his hands, beat his face and head, then ſung and jumped about again, like a diſtracted creature: ſo that it was a great while before I could make him ſpeak to me, or tell me what was the matter with him; but when he came to the liberty of his ſpeech, at laſt he told me it was his father.

Here indeed I was infinitely moved to ſee that dutiful and tender affection this poor ſavage had to his aged parent. He would ſit down by him in the boat, open his breaſt, and hold his father's head cloſe to his boſom, half an hour together, to cheriſh him: then he took his arms and ancles, which were ſtiff and numbed, with binding, and

chafed and rubbed them with his hands; by which means, perceiving what the caſe was, I gave him ſome rum, which proved of great benefit to him.

While we were buſy in this action, the ſavages had gotten almoſt out of ſight; and happy it was we did not purſue them: For there aroſe from the north weſt, which continued all night long, ſuch a violent ſtorm, that I could not ſuppoſe otherwiſe but that they were all drowned. After this I called Friday to me, and aſked him, if he had given his father any bread? He ſhook his head, and ſaid, "None "not one bit, me eat a up all;" ſo I gave him a cake of bread out of a little pouch I carried for this end. I likewiſe gave him a dram for himſelf, and two or three bunches of raiſins for his father. Both theſe he carried to him, for he would make him drink the dram to comfort him.

Away he then runs out of the boat as if he was bewitched, with ſuch an extraordinary ſwiftneſs, that he was out of ſight as it were in an inſtant; but, at his return, I perceived him ſlacken his pace, becauſe he had ſomething in his hand. And this I found to be as he approached nearer, an earthen jug with ſome water for his father, with two more cakes of bread, which he delivered into my hands. Being very thirſty myſelf, I drank ſome of the water, of which when his father had drunk ſufficiently, it more revived his ſpirits than all the rum I had given him.

I then called Friday to me, and ordered him to carry the Spaniard one of the cakes, and ſome water, who was repoſing himſelf upon a green place under the ſhade of a tree, but ſo weak, that though he exerted himſelf, he could not ſtand upon his feet. Upon which I ordered Friday to rub and bathe his ancles with rum, as he did his father's. But every minute he was employed in this he would caſt a wiſhful eye towards the boat, where he left his father ſitting; who ſuddenly diſappearing, he flew like lightning to him, and finding he had only laid himſelf down to eaſe his limbs, he returned back to me preſently, and then I ſpoke to the Spaniard to let Friday help him, and lead him to the boat, in order to be conveyed to my dwelling where I would take care of him. Upon which Friday took him upon his back, and ſo carried him to the canoe ſetting him cloſe by his father; and preſently ſtepping out again launched the boat off, and paddled it along the ſhore faſter than I could walk, though the wind blew very hard

too; and having brought them ſafe to the creek, away he runs to fetch the other canoe, which he brought to the creek almoſt as ſoon as I got to it by land, when waſting me over, he took our new gueſts out of the boat; but ſo weak were they, that I was forced to make a kind of a hand-barrow; and when I came to my caſtle, not being willing to make an entrance into my wall, we made them a handſome tent, covered with old ſails, and boughs of trees, making two good beds of rice ſtraw, with blankets to lie upon and cover them. Thus, like an abſolute king, over ſubjects who owed their lives to me, I thought myſelf very conſiderable, eſpecially as I had now three religions in my kingdom, my man Friday being a Proteſtant, his father a Pagan, and the Spaniard a Papiſt: but I gave *liberty of conſcience* to them all.

To get proviſions for my poor weak ſubjects, I ordered Friday to kill me a yearling goat; which when he had done, I cut off the hinder quarters, and chopping it into ſmall-pieces, boiled and ſtewed it, putting barley and rice into the broth. This I carried into their tent, ſet a table, dined with them myſelf, and encouraged them. Friday was my interpreter to his father, and indeed to the Spaniard too, who ſpoke the language of the ſavages pretty well. After dinner I ordered Friday to fetch home all our arms from the field of battle, and the next day to bury the dead bodies, which he did accordingly.

And now I made Friday inquire of his father whether he thought thoſe ſavages had eſcaped the late ſtorm in their canoe; and if ſo, whether they would not return with a power too great for us to reſiſt? He anſwered, that he thought it impoſſible they could outlive the ſtorm; or if they were driven ſouthwardly, they would come to a land where they would as certainly be devoured, as if they were drowned in the ſea. And ſuppoſe they had attained their own country, the ſtrangeneſs of their fatal and bloody attack, would make them tell their people, that the reſt of them were killed by thunder and lightning, not by the hand of man, but by two heavenly ſpirits (meaning Friday and me) who were ſent from above to deſtroy them. And this, he ſaid, he knew, becauſe he heard them ſay the ſame to one another. And indeed he was in the right on't; for I have heard ſince, that theſe four men gave out, that whoever went to that inchanted iſland, would be deſtroyed by fire from the gods.

No canoes appearing ſome after, as I expected, my apprehenſions ceaſed: Inſtead of which my former thoughts of a voyage took place eſpecially when Friday's father aſſured me I ſhould have good uſage in his nation. As to the Spaniard, he told me, that ſixteen more of his countrymen and Portugueſe, who had been ſhipwrecked made their eſcape thither; that though they were in union with the ſavages, yet they were very miſerable for want of proviſions and other neceſſaries. When I aſked him about the particulars of his voyage, he anſwered that their ſhip was bound from *Rio de la Plata* to the *Havannah*; that when the ſhip was loſt, only five men periſhed in the ocean; the reſt having ſaved themſelves in the boat, were now landed on the main continent. And what do they intend to do there? ſaid I. He replied, they have concerted meaſures to eſcape, by building a veſſel, but that they had neither tools nor proviſions, ſo that all their deſigns came to nothing. Suppoſing (ſaid I) I ſhould make a propoſal, and invite them here, would they not carry me priſoner to *New Spain?* he anſwered no; for he knew them to be ſuch honeſt men, as would ſcorn to act ſuch inhuman baſeneſs to their deliver: That if I pleaſed, he and the old ſavage would go over to them, talk with them about it, and bring me an anſwer: That they ſhould all ſwear fidelity to me as their leader, upon the holy ſacrament; and, for his part, he would not only do the ſame but ſtand to the laſt drop of his blood, ſhould there be occaſion.

Theſe ſolemn aſſurances made me reſolve to grant them relief, and to ſend theſe two over for that purpoſe; but when every thing was ready, the Spaniard raiſed an objection, which carried a great deal of weight in it: "You "know, Sir," ſaid he, "that having been ſome time "with you, I cannot but be ſenſible of your ſtock of rice "and corn, ſufficient, perhaps, for us at preſent, but not "for them, ſhould they come over preſently; much leſs "to victual a veſſel for an intended voyage. Want might "be as great an occaſion for them to diſagree and rebel, "as the children of *Iſrael* did againſt God himſelf, when "they wanted bread in the wilderneſs. And, therefore my "advice is, to wait another harveſt, and in the mean time "cultivate and improve ſome more land, whereby we may "have plenty of proviſions, in order to execute our de"ſign."

This advice of the *Spaniard's* I approved extremely;

and ſo ſatisfied was I of his fidelity, that I eſteemed him ever after. And thus we all four went to work upon ſome more land, and againſt ſeed time we had gotten ſo much cured and trimmed up, ſufficient to ſow twenty-two buſhels of barley on, and ſixteen jars of rice, which was in ſhort all the ſeed we had to ſpare. As we were four in number, and by this time all in good health, we feared not an hundred Indians, ſhould they venture to attack us; and while the corn was growing, I pitched upon ſome trees, fit to build us a large veſſel, in caſe the *Spaniards* came over; which being marked, I ordered *Friday* and his father to cut them down, appointing the *Spaniard*, who was now my privy counſellor, to overſee and direct the work. I likewiſe increaſed my flocks of goats, by ſhooting the wild dams, and bringing home their kids to my incloſure: Nor did I neglect the grape-ſeaſon, but cured them as uſual, though I had ſuch a quantity now, as would have filled eighty barrels with raiſins. And thus all of us being employed, they in working, and I in providing for them, till harveſt came, God Almighty bleſſed the increaſe of it ſo much, that from twenty-two barrels of barley, we thraſhed out two hundred and twenty, and the like quantity of rice, ſufficient to victual a ſhip fit to carry me and all the Spaniards to any part of America.

Thus the principal objection being anſwered, by a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions, I ſent my two ambaſſadors over to the main land, with a regal authority to adminiſter the oaths of allegiance and fidelity, and have an inſtrument ſigned under their hands, though I never aſked whether they had pen, ink, or paper; when giving each of them a muſket, eight charges of powder and ball, and proviſions enough for eight days, they ſailed away with a fair gale, on a day when the moon was at full.

Scarce a fortnight had paſſed over my head; but, impatient for their return, I laid me down to ſleep one morning, when a ſtrange accident happened, which was uſhered in by Friday's coming running to me, and calling aloud, "Maſter, maſter, they are come, they are come." Upon which, not dreaming of any danger, out I jumped from my bed, put on my clothes, and hurried through my little grove; when looking towards the ſea, I perceived a boat about a league and a half diſtant, ſtanding in for the ſhore, with the wind fair. I beheld they did not come from the ſide where the land lay on, but from the ſouthermoſt end

of the iſland: So theſe being none of the people we wanted, I ordered *Friday* to lie ſtill, till ſuch time as I came down from the mountain, which, with my ladder I now aſcended, in order to diſcover more fully what they were; and now, with the help of my perſpective glaſs, I plainly perceived an Engliſh ſhip, which I concluded it to be, by the faſhion of its long-boat; and, which filled me with ſuch uncommon tranſports of joy, that I cannot tell how to deſcribe; and yet ſome ſecret doubts hung about me, proceeding from I know not what cauſe, as though I had reaſon to be upon my guard. And, indeed, I would have no man contemn the ſecret hints and intimations of danger, which very often are given, when he may imagine there is no poſſibility of its being real; for, had not I not been warned by this ſilent admonition, I had been in a worſe ſituation than before, and perhaps inevitably ruined.

Not long it was, before I perceived the boat to approach the ſhore, as though they looked for a place where they might conveniently land; and at laſt they ran their boat on ſhore upon the beach, about half a mile's diſtance; which proved ſo much the happier for me, ſince, had they come into the creek, they had landed juſt at my door, and might not only have forced me out of my caſtle, but plundered me of all I had in the world. Now I was fully convinced they were all Engliſhmen, three of which were unarmed and bound; when immediately the firſt four or five leaped on ſhore, and took thoſe three out of the boat as priſoners; one of whom I could perceive uſed the moſt paſſionate geſtures of entreaty, affliction, and deſpair, while the others, in a leſſer degree, ſhewed abundance of concern.

Not knowing the meaning of this, I was very much aſtoniſhed, and I beckoned to Friday, who was below, to aſcend the mountain, and likewiſe view this ſight. "O "maſter," ſaid he to me, "you ſee Engliſh mans eat "priſoners as well as Savage mans." "And do you think "they will eat them, Friday?" ſaid I. "Yes," ſaid Friday "they eat a all up." "No, no," ſaid I, "Friday, "I am much more concerned leſt they murder them; but "as for eating them up, that I am ſure they will never do."

And now I not only lamented my misfortune in not having the Spaniard and Savage with me, but alſo that I could not come within ſhot of them unperceived, (they having no fire arms among them) and ſave theſe three men, whom I

thought they were going to kill with their ſwords. But ſome comfort it was to me, that I perceived they were ſet at liberty to go where they pleaſed, the raſcally ſeamen ſcattering about as though they had a mind to ſee the place: and ſo long did they negligently ramble, that the tide had ebbed ſo low, as to leave the boat aground. Nor were the two men that were in her more circumſpect: for having drunk a little too much liquor, they fell faſt aſleep; but one of them waking before the other, and perceiving the boat too faſt aground for his ſtrength to move it, he hallooed out to the reſt, who made all poſſible expedition to come to him; but, as Providence ordered it, all their force was ineffectual to launch her, when I could hear them ſpeak to one another, "Why, let her alone, Jack, can't "ye, ſhe'll float next tide:" by which words I was fully convinced they were my own countrymen. I this while lay very quiet, as being fully ſenſible it could be no leſs than ten hours before the boat would be afloat, and then it would be ſo dark, that they could not eaſily perceive me, by which means I ſhould be at more liberty to hear their talk, and obſerve all their motions: not but that I prepared for my defence: yet as I had another ſort of enemy to combat with, I acted with more caution. I took two fuſees on my ſhoulder and gave Friday three muſkets; beſides, my formidable goat-ſkin coat, and monſtrous cap, made me look as fierce and terrible as Hercules of old, eſpecially when two piſtols were ſtuck in my belt, and my naked ſword hanging by my ſide.

It was my deſign at firſt not to make any attempt till it was dark; but it being now two o'clock, in the very heat of the day, the ſailors were all ſtraggling in the woods, and undoubtedly were lain down to ſleep. The three poor diſtreſſed creatures, too anxious to get any repoſe, were, however, ſeated under the ſhade of a great tree, about a quarter of a mile from me. Upon which, without any more ado, I approached towards them, with my man following behind me, and, before I was perceived, I called aloud to them in Spaniſh, "What are ye, Gentlemen?"

At theſe words they ſtarted up in great confuſion, when they beheld the ſtrange figure I made; they returned no anſwer, but ſeemed as if they would fly from me: "Gen-"tlemen," ſaid I in Engliſh, "don't be afraid, perhaps "you have a friend nearer than you expect" "He muſt "be from heaven," ſaid one of them, gravely pulling off his

hat, " for we are paſt all help in this world." " All help " is from Heaven," ſaid I: " but Sir, as I have per- " ceived every action between you and theſe brutes ſince " your landing, only inform me how to aſſiſt you, and I " will do it to the utmoſt of my power."

" Am I talking with God or man," ſaid he, in melt- " ing tears. " Are you of human kind, or an angel?" " Sir," ſaid I, " my poor habit will tell you I am a man, " and an Engliſhman, willing to aſſiſt you, having but this " ſervant only: here are arms and ammunition: tell freely " your condition: Can we ſave you?" " The ſtory," ſaid he, " is too long to relate, ſince our butchers are ſo " near: but, Sir, I was maſter of that ſhip, my men have " mutinied, and it is a favour they have put my mate, this " paſſenger, and me, on ſhore without murdering us, tho' " we expect nothing but periſhing here." Are your ene- " mies gone?" ſaid I. " No," replied, he, pointing to a thicket, " there they lie, while my heart trembles, leſt, " having ſeen and heard us, they ſhould murder us all." " Have they fire-arms?" ſaid I. " They have but two " pieces," ſaid he, " one of which is left in the boat." He alſo told me, there were two enormous villains among them, that were the authors of this mutiny, who, if they were killed or ſeized, might induce the reſt to return to their obedience. " Well, well," ſaid I, " let us retire " farther under the covering of the woods:" and there it was I made theſe conditions with him:

I. That, while they ſtaid in the iſland, they ſhould not pretend to any authority; but ſhould entirely conform to my orders, and return me the arms which I ſhould put in their hands.

II. That, if the ſhip was recovered, they ſhould afford Friday and myſelf a paſſage *gratis* to England.

When he had given me all the ſatisfaction I could deſire, I gave him and his two companions each of them a gun, with powder and ball ſufficient, adviſing them to fire upon them as they lay ſleeping. The Captain modeſtly ſaid, that he was ſorry to kill them; though, on the other hand, to let theſe villains eſcape, who were the authors of his miſery, might be the ruin of us all.—Well, ſaid he, do as you think fit: and ſo accordingly I fired, killed one of the Captain's chief enemies, and wounding the other, who eagerly called for aſſiſtance; but the Captain (who had reſerved his piece) coming up to him, " Sirrah," ſaid he, " 'tis too late to call for aſſiſtance, you ſhould rather cry

"to God to pardon your villainy:" and ſo knocked him down with the ſtock of his gun: three others were alſo ſlightly wounded, who, at my approach, cried out for mercy. This, the Captain granted, upon condition that they would ſwear to be true to him in recovering the ſhip, which they ſolemnly did: however I obliged the Captain to keep them bound. After which I ſent Friday and the Captain's mate to ſecure the boat, and bring away the oars and ſails; when, at their return, three men coming back, and ſeeing their late diſtreſſed Captain, now their conqueror, ſubmitted to be bound alſo. And then it was, that having more liberty, I related the adventures of my whole life, which he heard with a ſerious and wonderful attention. After this, I carried him and his two companions into my little fortified caſtle, ſhewed them all my conveniencies, and refreſhed them with ſuch proviſions as I could afford. When this was over, we began to conſider about regaining the ſhip: he ſaid that there were twenty ſix hands on board, who, knowing their lives were forfeited by the law, for conſpiracy and mutiny, were ſo very hardened, that it would be dangerous for our ſmall company to attack them, This was a reaſonable inference, indeed; but ſomething we muſt reſolve on, and immediately put in execution: we therefore heaved the boat upon the beach ſo high that ſhe could not ſhoot off at high water mark, and broke a hole in her not eaſily to be ſtopped; ſo that all the ſignals they gave for the boat to come on board were in vain. This obliged them to ſend another boat aſhore, with ten men armed, whoſe faces the Captain plainly deſcried, the boatſwain being the chief officer; but he ſaid there were three honeſt lads among them, who were forced into the conſpiracy. Hereupon I gave him freſh courage, (for I had perceived he was in concern) in the mean while ſecuring our priſoners, except two, whom we took to our aſſiſtance, we thought ourſelves able enough to adventure a battle. When the ſailors landed, and beheld their boat in that condition, they not only hallooed, but fired, for their companions to hear, yet they received no anſwer. This ſtruck them with horror and amazement, thinking their companions were murdered, they made as if they would return to the ſhip. I could perceive the Captain's countenance change at this; till, of a ſudden three men were ordered to look after the boat, while the other ſeven leapt on ſhore, in order to ſearch for their companions: and,

indeed, they came to the brow of the hill, near my antient caſtle, from whence they could ſee to a great diſtance in the woods, and there ſhouting and hallooing till tired and weary, they at length ſeated themſelves under a ſpreading tree. My opinion was, that nothing could be done till night, when I might uſe ſome artifice to get them all out of the boat; but, of a ſudden they ſtarted up, and made to the ſea ſide; hereupon I ordered Friday and the Captain's mate to go over the creek, and halloo as loud as they could, and ſo decoying them into the woods, come round to me again. And, this, indeed, had good effect; for they followed the noiſe, till coming weſtward to the creek, they called for their boat to carry them over, and taking one of the men out of her, left two to look after her, having faſtened her to the ſtump of a little tree on ſhore. Hereupon immediately the Captain and our party paſſing the creek, out of their ſight, we ſurpriſed them both, by the Captain's knocking down one, and ordering the other to ſurrender upon pain of death, and who, being the honeſteſt of them all, ſincerely joined with us. By this time it was pretty late; when the reſt returning to their boat, which they found aground in the creek, the tide out, and the men gone, they ran about wringing their hands, crying it was an inchanted iſland, and that they ſhould be all murdered by ſpirits or devils. My men would willingly have fallen upon them, but I would not agree to hazard any of our party. But to be more certain, Friday and the Captain crawled upon their hands and feet, as near as poſſible; and, when the boatſwain approached in ſight, ſo eager was the Captain, that he fired, and killed him on the ſpot; Friday wounded the next man, and a third ran away. Hereupon I advanced with my whole army; and, it being dark, I ordered the man we had ſurpriſed in the boat, to call them by their names, and to parley with them. Accordingly he called out aloud "Tom Smith, Tom "Smith!" He anſwered, "Who's that?" "Robinſon!" anſwered the other, "For God's ſake, Tom, ſurrender "immediately, or you're all dead men." "Who muſt we "ſurrender to?" ſays Smith. "To our Captain and fif-"ty men here, who have taken me priſoner, wounded "Will Frye, and killed the boatſwain." "Shall we have "quarters then?" ſaid he. Hereupon the Captain calls out, "You, Smith, you know my voice ſurrender imme-"diately, and you ſhall all have your lives granted except

"Will Atkins." Hereupon Atkins cries out, "What "have I done Captain, more than the reſt, who have "been as bad as me?" but that was a lie, for he was the perſon that laid hold of him, and bound him. However, he was ordered to ſubmit to the governor's mercy, for ſuch was I called. And ſo, laying down their arms, we bound them all, and ſeized on their boat.

After this, the Captain expoſtulated with them, telling them that the governor was an Engliſhman, who might execute them there; but he thought they would be ſent to England, except Will Atkins, who was ordered to prepare for death, next morning. Hereupon Atkins implored the Captain to intercede for his life, and the reſt begged they might not be ſent to England. This anſwered our project for ſeizing the ſhip. For after ſending Atkins, and two of the worſt faſt bound to the cave, and the reſt being committed to my bower, I ſent the Captain to treat with them in the governor's name, offering them pardon if they would aſſiſt in recovering the ſhip. Upon which they all promiſed to ſtand by him till the laſt drop of their blood; and whoever acted treacherouſly, ſhould be hanged in chains upon the beach. They were all releaſed on theſe aſſurances; and then the Captain repaired to the other boat, making his paſſenger Captain of her, and gave him four men well armed; while himſelf, his mate, and five more, went in the other boat. By midnight they came within call of the ſhip, when the Captain ordered Robinſon to hail her, and tell them that with great difficulty they had found the men at laſt. But while they were diſcourſing, the Captain, his mate, and the reſt entered, and knocked down the ſecond mate and carpenter, ſecured thoſe that were upon the deck, by putting them under hatches, while the other boat's crew entered and ſecured the forecaſtle; they then broke into the round houſe, where the mate, after ſome reſiſtance, ſhot the pirate Captain through the head, upon which all the reſt yielded themſelves priſoners. And thus the ſhip being recovered, the joyful ſignal was fired, which I heard with the greateſt joy imaginable: nor was it long before he brought the ſhip to an anchor at the creek's mouth, where coming to me unawares, "There," ſays he, "my deareſt friend and deliver, there "is your ſhip, and we are your ſervants:" a comfort ſo unſpeakable, as made me ſwoon in his arms, while, with gratitude to Heaven, we were tenderly embracing each other.

Nothing now remaining, but to conſult what we ſhould do with the priſoners, whom he thought it was not ſafe to take on board. Hereupon concerting with the Captain, I dreſſed myſelf in one of his ſuits, and ſending for them, told them, that I was going to leave the iſland with all my people, if they would tarry there, their lives ſhould be ſpared; if not, they ſhould be hanged at the firſt port they came at. They agreed to ſtay. Hereupon I told them my whole ſtory, charging them to be kind to the Spaniards that were expected, gave them all my arms, and informing them of every thing neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, I and my man Friday went on board. But the next morning two of the men came ſwimming to the ſhip's ſide, deſiring the Captain to take them on board, though he hanged them afterwards, complaining mightily how barbarouſly the others uſed them. Upon which I prevailed with the Captain to take them in; and being ſeverely whipt and pickled, they proved more honeſt for the future. And ſo I bid farewell to this iſland, carrying along with me my money, my parrot, umbrella, and goat-ſkin cap; ſetting ſail December 12, 1686, after twenty-eight years, two months, and nineteen days reſidence, that ſame day and month that I eſcaped from Salee, landing in England, June 11, 1687, after five and thirty years abſence from my own country, which rendered me altogether a ſtranger there.

Here I found my firſt Captain's widow alive, who had buried a ſecond huſband, but in very mean circumſtances, and whom I made eaſy upon his account. Soon after I went down to Yorkſhire, where all my family were expired, except two ſiſters, and as many of one of my brother's children. I found no proviſion had been made for me, they concluding I had been long ſince dead; ſo that I was but in a very ſlender ſtation. Indeed the Captain did me a great kindneſs, by his report to the owners, how I had delivered their ſhip on the deſolate iſland, upon which they made me a preſent of 200l. ſterling. I next went to Liſbon, taking my man Friday with me, and there arriving in April, I met the Portugueſe Captain, who had taken me on board on the African coaſt; but being antient he had left off the ſea, and reſigned all his buſineſs to his ſon, who followed the Brazil trade. So altered both of us were, that we did not know each other at firſt, till I diſcovered myſelf more fully to him. After

a few embraces, I began to inquire of my concerns; and then the old gentleman told me, that it was nine years ſince he had been at Brazil, where my partner was then living, but my truſtees were both dead; that he believed I ſhould have a good account of the product of my plantation: that the imagination of my being loſt, had obliged my truſtees to give an eſtimate of my ſhare to the procurator-fiſcal, who, in caſe of my not returning, had given one third to the king, and the reſt to the monaſtry of St. Auguſtine: but if I put in my claim, or any one for me, it would be returned, except the yearly product which was given to the poor. I then deſired him to tell me what improvement he thought had been made of my plantation, and whether he imagined it was worth my while to look after it? he anſwered, he did not know how much it was improved; but this he was certain of, that my partner was grown vaſtly rich upon his half it; and that he had been informed, that the king had 200 moidores per annum for his third part. He added, that the ſurvivors of my truſtees were perſons of an ingenuous character; that my partner could witneſs my title, my name being regiſtered in the country, by which means I ſhould indiſpenſibly recover conſiderable ſums of money. But, anſwered I, how could my truſtees diſpoſe of my effects, when I made you only my heir? This, he ſaid, was true; but, there being no affidavit made of my death, he could not act as my executor. However, he had ordered his ſon (then at Brazil) to act by procuration upon my account, and he had taken poſſeſſion of my ſugar-houſe, having accounted himſelf for eight years with my partner and truſtees for the profits, of which he would give me a very good account.

And, indeed, this he performed very faithfully, in a few days, making himſelf indebted to me 470 moidores of gold, over and above what had been loſt at ſea, after I had left the place. And then he recounted to me what misfortunes he had gone through, which forced my money out of his hands, to buy part in a new ſhip: "but," ſays he, "you ſhall not want, take this; and when my ſon returns, "every farthing ſhall be paid you." Upon which he put into my hand a purſe of 150 moidores in gold, as likewiſe the inſtrument, containing the title to the ſhip which his ſon was in, and which he offered as ſecurity for the remainder. But really when I ſaw ſo much goodneſs, generoſity,

tenderneſs, and real honeſty, I had not the heart to accep it, for fear he ſhould ſtraiten himſelf upon my account. "It is true," ſaid he, "it may be ſo; but then the money "is yours, not mine, and you may have the greateſt oc- "caſion for it." However, I returned fifty of them back again, promiſing that I would freely forgive him the other hundred when I got my effects in my hands, and that I deſigned to go myſelf for that purpoſe. But he told me he could ſave me that trouble, and ſo cauſed me to enter my name, with a public notary, as likewiſe my affidavit, with a procuration affixed to it; and this he ordered me to ſend in a letter to one of his acquaintance, a merchant in Brazil: and, indeed, nothing could be more faithfully and honourably obſerved; for, in ſeven months time, I had a very faithful account of all my effects, what ſums of money were raiſed, what expended, and what remained for my uſe: In a word, I found myſelf to be worth 5000l. ſterling, and 1000l. *per annum*. Nor was this all; for my partner congratulated me upon my being alive, telling me how much my plantation was improved, what negroes were at work, and how many *Ave Marias* he had ſaid to the Virgin Mary for my preſervation, deſiring me to accept kindly ſome preſents he had ſent me, which I found ſhewed the greateſt generoſity.

No ſooner did the ſhip arrive, but I rewarded my faithful Captain, by returning him the hundred moidores, and not only forgiving him all he owed me, I allowed him yearly a hundred more, and fifty to his ſon, during their lives. And now being reſolved to go to England, I returned letters of thanks to the Prior of St. Auguſtine, and in particular to my old partner, with very ſuitable preſents. By the Captain's advice, I was perſuaded to go by land to Calais, and there take paſſage for England; when, as it happened, I got a young Engliſh gentleman, a merchant's ſon at Liſbon, to accompany me, together with two Engliſh, and two Portugueſe gentlemen; ſo that with a Portugueſe ſervant, an Engliſh ſailor, and my man Friday, there were nine of us in number.

Thus armed and equipped, we ſet out, and came to Madrid, when the ſummer decaying, we haſted to Navarre, where we were informed, that there was ſcarcely any paſſing, by reaſon of the prodigious quantity of ſnow; ſo that we were obliged to abide near twenty days at Pampeluna, and at laſt to take a guide to conduct us ſafe towards

Tholouſe. And now twelve other gentlemen joining with us, together with their ſervants, we had a very jolly company. Away our guide led us by the frightful mountains, and through ſo many intricate mazes and windings, that we inſenſibly paſſed them, which as we travelled along, uſhered us into the proſpect of the fruitful and charming provinces of Languedoc and Gaſcoigne.

But now came on two adventures, both tragical and comical. Firſt, our guide was encountered by three wolves and a bear, who ſet upon him and his horſe, and wounded him in three places; upon which my man, riding up to his aſſiſtance, ſhot one of them dead upon the ſpot, which made the others retire into the woods. But the pleaſanteſt adventure was, to behold my man attack the bear. 'Tis ſuch a creature, that if you let him alone, he will never meddle with you: and this my man very well knew, and ſo begging leave of me, in broken Engliſh, he told us he "would make good laugh." "Why, you ſilly fool," ſaid I, "he'll eat you up at a mouthful." "Eatee me up" replied he, by way of ſcorn, "me not only eatee him, but "make much good laugh." Upon which, pulling off his boots, he claps on his pumps, and running after the monſtrous beaſt, he called out, that he wanted to diſcourſe with him, and then throwing ſtones on purpoſe to incenſe him, the beaſt turns about in fury, and with prodigious ſtrides, ſhuffles after him. But though he was not ſwift enough to keep up pace with Friday, who made up to us as it were for help; yet being angry, "You dog," ſaid I, "im-"mediately take horſe, and let us ſhoot the creature." But he cried, "Dear maſter, no ſhoot, me make you laugh "much." And ſo he turned about making ſigns to follow, while the bear ran after, till coming to a great oak, he aſcended in a minute, leaving his gun at the bottom of it. Nor did the bear make any difficulty of it, but aſcended like a cat, though his weight was very great. You muſt conſider I was not a little amazed at the folly of my man, as not perceiving any thing to occaſion our laughter, till ſuch time as we rode up nearer, and beheld the beaſt mounted upon the oak, on the beginning of the ſame branch, to which Friday clung at the farther end, where the bear durſt not come. Hereupon Friday cried out, "Now maſter, me make much laugh, me make bear "dance." Upon which he fell a ſhaking the bough, which made the creature look behind him, to ſee how he

could retreat. Then as if the bear had underſtood his ſtammering Engliſh; "Why you no come farther, Mr. "Bear?" ſaid he "pray Mr. Bear, come farther:" and then indeed we all burſt into laughter, eſpecially when we perceived Friday drop like a ſquirrel upon the ground, leaving the beaſt to make the beſt of his way down the tree. And now thinking it the moſt convenient time to ſhoot the creature, Friday cried out, "O dear maſter, no "ſhoot, me ſhoot by and by;" when taking up the gun, "Me no ſhoot yet" ſaid he, "me make once more much "laugh." And accordingly, he was as good as his word; for the creature deſcending backwards from the tree very leiſurely before he could lay one foot on the ground, Friday ſhot him through the ear, ſtone dead: and looking to ſee whether we were pleaſed, he burſt out into hearty laughter, ſaying, "So we kill de bear in my country, not "with the gun, but with much long arrows." Thus ended our diverſion, to our great ſatisfaction; eſpecially in a place where the terrible howlings ſtruck us with a continual terror. But the ſnows now growing very deep, particularly on the mountains, the ravenous creatures were then obliged to ſeek for ſuſtenance in the villages, where coming by ſurprize on the country people, killed ſeveral of them, beſides a great number of their ſheep and horſes.

Our guide told us, we had yet one more dangerous place to paſs by; and if there were any more wolves in the country, there we ſhould find them. This was a ſmall plain encompaſſed with woods, to get through a long lane, to the village where we were to lodge. When we entered the wood, the ſun was within half an hour of ſetting; and a little after it was ſet, we came into the plain, which was not above two furlongs over, and then we perceived five great wolves croſs the road, without taking notice of us, and ſo ſwift as though they were purſuing after their prey. Hereupon our guide, believing there were more coming, deſired us to be upon our guard. Accordingly our eyes were very circumſpect, till about half a league farther, we perceived a dead horſe, and near a dozen of wolves devouring its carcaſe. My man Friday fain would have fired at them, but I would not permit him; nor had we gone half over the plain, but we heard dreadful howlings in a wood on our left, when preſently we ſaw an hundred come up againſt us, as though they had been an experienced army. This obliged us to form ourſelves in the

beſt manner; and then I ordered that every other man ſhould fire, that thoſe who did not, might be ready to give a ſecond volley, ſhould they advance upon us; and then every man ſhould make uſe of his piſtols. But there was no neceſſity for this; for the enemy being terrified, ſtopped at the noiſe of the fire; four of them were ſhot dead, and ſeveral others being wounded, went bleeding away, as we could very plainly diſcover by the ſnow. And now remembering what had been often told me, that ſuch was the majeſty of a man's voice, as to ſtrike terror even in the fierceſt creatures, I ordered all our companions to halloo as loud as poſſible; and in this notion I was not altogether miſtaken; for they immediately turned about upon the firſt halloo, and began to retire; upon which, ordering a ſecond volley in their rear, they gallopped into the woods with great precipitation.

Thus we had ſome ſmall time to load our pieces again, and then made all the haſte we could on our way; but we had had not rode far, before we were obliged to put ourſelves in a poſture of defence as before, being alarmed with a very dreadful noiſe in the ſame wood, on our left hand, the ſame way as we were to paſs, only that it was at ſome diſtance from us. By this time the darkſome clouds began to ſpread over the elements, and the night growing very duſky, made it ſo much the more to our diſadvantage; but ſtill the noiſe increaſing, we were fully aſſured, that it was the howling and yelling of thoſe ravenous creatures; when preſently three troops of wolves on our front, appeared in ſight, as though a great number of them had a deſign to ſurround us, and devour us in ſpite of fate. But as they did not fall upon us immediately, we proceeded on our journey in as ſwift a manner as the roads would permit our horſes, which was only a large trot. It was in this manner we travelled, till ſuch time as we diſcovered another wood, and had the proſpect of its entrance through which we were to paſs, at the fartheſt ſide of the plain. But ſurely none can expreſs the terror we were in, when approaching the lane, we perceived a confuſed number of the fierceſt wolves, ſtanding, as it were, guarding its entrance. Nor were we long in this amazement, before another occaſion of horror preſented itſelf; for ſuddenly we heard the report of a gun at another opening into the wood, and, looking that way, out ran a horſe bridled and ſaddled flying with the greateſt ſwiftneſs, and no leſs than ſixteen or ſe-

venteen wolves purſuing after him, in order to devour the poor creature: and unqueſtionably they did ſo, after they had run him down, not being able to hold out that ſwiftneſs with which he at firſt eſcaped them.

When we rode up to that entrance from whence the horſe came forth, there lay the carcaſes of another horſe and two men, mangled and torn by theſe devouring wolves: and undoubtedly one of theſe men was the perſon who fired the gun which we had heard, for the piece lay by him; but, alas! moſt of the upper part of his body and his head were entombed in the bowels of theſe ravenous creatures.

What courſe to take, whether to proceed or retreat, we could not tell; but it was not long before the wolves themſelves made us to come to a reſolution: for ſuch numbers ſurrounded us, every one of whom expected their prey, that, were our bodies to be divided among them, there would not be half a mouthful apiece. But happy, very happy it was for us, that but a little way from the entrance, there lay ſome very large timber trees, which I ſuppoſed had been cut down and laid there for ſale; amongſt which I drew my little troop, placing ourſelves in a line behind one long tree, which ſerved us for a breaſt work, when deſiring them to alight, we ſtood in a triangle, or three fronts, cloſing our bodies in the centre, the only place where we could preſerve them.

Never certainly was there a more furious charge than what the wolves made upon us in this place; and the ſight of the horſes, which was the principal prey they aimed at provoked their hunger and added to their natural fierceneſs. They came on us with a moſt dreadful noiſe, that made the woods ring again; and beginning to mount the pieces of timber, I ordered every man to fire as before directed: and, indeed, ſo well did they take their aim, that they killed ſeveral of the wolves at the firſt volly; but ſtill we were obliged to keep a continual firing, by reaſon they came on like devils, puſhing one another with the greateſt fury. But our ſecond volley ſomething abated their courage, when ſtopping a little, we hoped they would have made the beſt of their way; however, it did not prove ſo, for others made a new attempt upon us; and though in four firings we killed ſeventeen or eighteen of them, laming twice as many, yet they ſeveral times ſucceſſively came on, as though they valued not their lives for the ſake of their prey.

Unwilling was I to ſpend our laſt ſhot too ſuddenly, and therefore called my other ſervant, and giving him a horn of powder, bid him lay a large train quite along the timber, which he did, while Friday was charging my fuſee and his own, with the greateſt dexterity. By this time the wolves coming up the timber, I ſet fire to the train, by ſnapping a diſcharged piſtol cloſe on the powder. This ſo ſcorched and terrified them, that ſome fell down, and others jumped in among us; but theſe we immediately deſpatched, when all the reſt, frighted with the light, which the darkſome night cauſed to appear more dreadful, began at length to retire; upon which, ordering our laſt piſtols to be fired at once, giving at the ſame time a great ſhout, the wolves were obliged to have recourſe to their ſwiftneſs, and turn tail; and then we ſallied out upon twenty lame ones, cutting them in pieces with our ſwords, which obliged them to howl lamentably, to the terror of their fellows, who reſigned to us the field as victorious conquerors. And, indeed, I queſtion whether *Alexander*, king of *Macedonia*, in any of his conqueſts, had more occaſion for trinmph than we had; for he was but attacked by numerous armies of ſoldiers; whereas our little army was obliged to combat a legion of devils, as it were, worſe than the cannibals, who, the ſame moment had they ſlain us, would have ſacrificed us, to ſatisfy their voracious appetites.

Thus ended our bloody battle with the beaſts, having killed threeſcore of them, and ſaved our lives from their fury. We ſtill had a league farther to go, when, as we went, our ears were ſaluted with their moſt unwelcome howlings, and we expected every moment another attack. But, in an hour's time, we arrived at the town where we were to lodge; and here we found the place ſtrictly guarded, and all in terrible confuſion, as well they might, for fear of the bears and wolves breaking into the village, in order to prey upon their cattle and people. The next morning we were obliged to take a new guide, by reaſon the other fell very bad of his wounds, which he had received, as before mentioned. After we had reached *Tholouſe*, we came into a warm, pleaſant, and fruitful country, not infeſted with wolves, nor any ſort of ravenous creatures; and when we told our ſtory there, they much blamed our guide, for conducting us through the foreſt at the foot of the mountains, in ſuch a ſevere ſeaſon, when

the ſnow obliged the wolves to ſeek for ſhelter in the woods. When we informed them in what manner we placed ourſelves, and the horſes in the centre, they exceedingly reprehended us, and told us, it was an hundred to one, but we had been all deſtroyed; for that it was the very ſight of the horſes, their ſo much deſired prey, that made the wolves more ragingly furious than they would have been, which was evident, by their being at other times really afraid of a gun; but then being exceeding hungry and furious, upon that account, their eagerneſs to come at the horſes made them inſenſible of their danger; and that, if we had not, by a continual fire, and at laſt by the cunning ſtratagem of the train of powder, got the better of them, it had been great odds if their number had not overpowered us; beſides, it was a great mercy we alighted from our horſes, and fought them with that courage and conduct, which, had we failed to do, every man of us, with our beaſts, had been devoured; and indeed, this was nothing but truth: for never, in my life, was I ſo ſenſible of danger, as when three hundred devils came roaring upon us, to ſhun whoſe unwelcome company, if I was ſure to meet a ſtorm every week, I would rather go a thouſand leagues by ſea.

I think I have nothing uncommon in my paſſage through France to take notice of, ſince other travellers of greater learning and ingenuity, have given a more ample account than my pen is able to ſet forth. From Tholouſe I travelled to Paris, from thence to Calis, where I took ſhipping, and landed at Dover the 14th of January, in a very cold ſeaſon.

Thus come to the end of my travels, I ſoon diſcovered my new found eſtate, and all the bills of exchange I had were currently paid. The good ancient widow, my only privy counſellor, thought no pains, nor care too great to procure my advantage; nor had I ever occaſion to blame her fidelity, which drew from me an ample reward. I was for leaving my effects in her hands, intending to ſet out for Liſbon, and ſo to the Brazils: but as in the *Deſolate Iſland* I had ſome doubts about the Romiſh religion, ſo I knew there was little encouragement to ſettle there, unleſs I would apoſtatize from the orthodox faith, or live in continual fear of the Inquiſition. Upon this account I reſolved to ſell my plantation; and, for that intent, I wrote to my old friend at Liſbon, who returned me an anſwer to my great

ſatisfaction; which was, that he could ſell it to good account: however, if I thought it convenient to give him liberty to offer it in my name to the two merchants, the ſurvivors of my truſtees, reſiding at the Brazils, who conſequently knew its intrinſic value, having lived juſt upon the ſpot, and who I was ſenſible were very rich, and, therefore might be the more willing to purchaſe it: he did not in the leaſt doubt, but that I ſhould make four or five thouſand pieces of eight more of it, than I could do, if I diſpoſed of it in any other manner whatſoever.

You may be ſure I could not but agree with this kind and ingenuous propoſal; and immediately I ſent him an order to offer it to them, which he accordingly did; ſo that, about eight months after, the ſhip being in that time returned, he gave me a ſatisfactory account, that thy not only willingly accepted the offer, but that they had alſo remitted 33,000 pieces of eight to a correſpondent of their own at Liſbon, in order to pay for the purchaſe.

Hereupon, in return, I ſigned the inſtrument of ſale according to form, which they had ſent from Liſbon, and returned it again to my old friend, he having ſent me, for my eſtate, bills of three hundred and twenty-eight thouſand pieces of eight, reſerving the payment of one hundred moidores *per annum*, which I had allowed him during life, likewiſe fifty to his ſon during life alſo, according to my faithful promiſe, which the plantation was to make good as a rent charge.

And thus having led my reader to the knowledge of the firſt parts of my life, ſo remarkable for the many peculiar providences that attended it, floating in an ocean of uncertainty and diſappointment, of adverſity and proſperity, beginning fooliſhly, and yet ending happily; methinks, now that I am come to a ſafe and a pleaſant haven, it is time to caſt out my anchor, and, laying up my veſſel, bid, for a while, adieu to foreign adventures. I had no other concerns to look after, but the care of my brother's two ſons, which, with the good widow's perſuaſions, obliged me to continue at home ſeven years. One of theſe children I bred up a gentleman, and the other an experienced ſailor, remarkable for his courage and bravery. Beſides this, I married a virtuous young gentlewoman, of a very good family, by whom I had two ſons and one daughter. But my dear and tender wife leaving this earthly ſtage (as in the ſecond part of my life you will hear) which rent my

ſoul as it were aſunder, my native country became weary and tireſome to me: and my nephew happening to come from ſea, tempted me to venture another voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, which I did in the year 1694, at which time I viſited my iſland, and informed myſelf of every thing that happened ſince my departure.

One might reaſonably imagine, that what I had ſuffered, together with an advanced age, and the fear of loſing, not only what I had gotten, but my life alſo, might have choaked up all the ſeeds of youthful ambition and curioſity, and put a laſting period to my wandering inclinations. But as nothing but death can fully allay the active part of my life, no leſs remarkable for the many various contingencies of it; you will next perceive how I viſited my little kingdom, ſaw my ſucceſſors the Spaniards, had an account of the uſage they met with from the Engliſhmen, agreeing and diſagreeing, uniting and ſeparating, till at laſt they were ſubjected to the Spaniards, who yet uſed them very honourably, together with the wonderful and ſucceſsful battles over the Indians who invaded, and thought to have conquered the iſland, but were repelled by their invincible courage and bravery, having taken eleven men and five women priſoners, by which, at my return, I found about twenty young children on my little kingdom. Here I ſtaid twenty days, left them ſupplies of all neceſſary things, as alſo a carpenter and ſmith, and ſhared the iſland into parts, reſerving the whole property to myſelf. Nor will you be inſenſible, by the account of theſe things, of ſeveral new adventures I have been engaged in, the battles I have fought, the deliverances I have met with: and while, in the ſurpriſing relation of ſuch remarkable occurrences, I ſhall deſcribe many of God's kindeſt providences to me in particular, no leſs conſpicuous in the ſame goodneſs, power, and majeſty of our great Creator, ſhewn, one way or other, over the face of the earth, if duly adverted to.

THE FURTHER ADVENTURES OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE,

Wherein are contained ſeveral ſtrange and ſurpriſing accounts of his Travels, and his moſt remarkable tranſactions both by ſea and land; with his wonderful Viſion of the Angelic World.

WHEN we conſider the puiſſant force of Nature, and what mighty influence it has many times over the temper of the mind, it will be no ſuch great wonder to think, that my powerful reaſon ſhould be overcome by a much ſtronger inclination. My late acquired kingdom ran continually in my thoughts all the day, and I dreamed of it in the night: nay, I made it the continual ſubject of my talk, even to impertinence, when I was awake. I had ſuch vapours in my head, that I actually ſuppoſed myſelf at my caſtle; that I not only perceived Friday's father, but the old Spaniard, and the wicked ſailors, but that I talked and diſcourſed with them about their manner of living: that I heard theſe things related to me, which I found afterwards to be too true; and that I executed my judgments with the greateſt ſeverity upon the offenders. And, indeed, this anticipating all the pleaſing joys of my life, ſcarcely afforded me one pleaſant hour: my dear and tender wife could not but take notice of it, which drew theſe affectionate ſpeeches from her: "My dear," ſaid ſhe, "I "am really perſuaded that ſome ſecret impulſe from hea-"ven occaſions in you a determination to ſee the iſland "again; nor am I leſs ſenſible, but your being engaged to "me, and theſe dear children, is the only hinderance of "your departure. I know, my dear, if I was in the grave, "you would not long continue at home; prevent not your "happineſs upon my account, whoſe only comfort centres "in you. All that I can object is, that ſuch an hazardous "undertaking is no way conſiſtent with a perſon of your "years; but if you are reſolved to go," added ſhe, weeping, "only permit me to bear you company, and that is "all that I deſire."

Such endearing tenderneſs, graced with the moſt innocent, and yet moſt powerful charms, brought me inſenſibly into my right underſtanding; and when I conſidered all the tranſactions of my life, and particularly my new engagement; that I had now one child already born, and my wife big of another; and that I had no occaſion to ſeek for more riches, who already was bleſſed with ſufficiency, with much ſtruggling I altered my reſolutions at laſt, reſolving to apply myſelf to ſome buſineſs or other, which might put a period to ſuch wandering inclinations. Hereupon I bought a little farm in the county of Bedford, with a reſolution to move thither: upon this there was a pretty convenient houſe, ſurrounded with land, very capable of improvement, which ſuited my temper as to planting, managing, and cultivating. Nor was I long before I entered upon my new ſettlement, having bought ploughs, harrows, carts, waggons, horſes, cows, and ſheep: ſo that I now led the life of a country gentleman, and as happy in my retirement as the greateſt monarch in the world. And what made me think my happineſs the greater was, that I was in that *middle ſtate of life*, which my father had ſo often recommended, much reſembling the felicity of a rural retirement, which is elegantly deſcribed by the poet in theſe lines:

> Free from all vices, free from care,
> Age has no pain, and youth no ſnare.

But, in the midſt of this my happineſs, I was ſuddenly plunged in the greateſt ſorrow that I could poſſibly endure; for when I leaſt expected it, my dear and tender wife was forced to ſubmit to the irreſiſtible power of death, leaving this tranſitory life for a better. It is impoſſible for me to expreſs the beauties of her mind, or the lovelineſs of her perſon; neither can I too much lament her loſs, which my lateſt breath ſhall record; her influence was greater over me than the powers of my own reaſon, the importunities of friends, the inſtructions of a father, or the melting tears of a tender and diſconſolate mother; in a word, ſhe was the ſpirit of all my affairs, and the centre of my enterprizes. But now, ſince the cruel hand of death had cloſed my deareſt's eyes, I ſeemed in my thoughts a ſtranger to the world; my privy counſellor being gone, I was like a ſhip without a pilot, that could only run before the wind.

And when I looked around me in this buſy world, one part labouring for bread, and the other ſquandering away their eſtates; this put me in mind how I had lived in my little kingdom, where both reaſon and religion dictated to me, that there was ſomething that certainly was the reaſon and end of life, which was far ſuperior to what could be hoped for on this ſide the grave. My country delights were now as inſipid and dull, as muſic or ſcience to thoſe who have neither taſte nor ingenuity. In ſhort, reſolving to leave off houſe-keeping, I left my farm, and in a few months, returned to London.

But neither could that great city, ſo famous for its variety of entertainment, afford me any agreeable delight; a ſtate of idleneſs I found to be the very dregs of life, and moſt hurtful to body and ſoul. It was now the beginning of the year 1694, at which time my nephew (who, as I before obſerved, had been brought up to the ſea, and advanced to be captain of a ſhip) was returned from a ſhort voyage to Bilboa, the firſt he had made in that ſtation. He comes to me one morning, telling me, that ſome merchants of his acquaintance had propoſed to him to go a voyage for them, to the Eaſt Indies and China, in the manner of private traders: and now, "uncle" ſaid he, "if you'll accompany me thither, I'll engage to land you "upon your old iſland, to viſit the ſtate of your little "kingdom."

Juſt before he came in, my thoughts were fixed to get a patent for its poſſeſſion, and then to fill it with inhabitants. After I had pauſed a while, and looked ſtedfaſtly on him, "What devil or ſpirit," ſaid I, "ſent you with "this unlucky errand?" He ſtarted at firſt; but recovering himſelf, when he perceived I was not offended; "Sir," replied he, "what I have propoſed cannot, I hope, be "ſtyled unlucky, ſince certainly you muſt be deſirous to "ſee your little territory, where you reigned with more "content than any of your brother kings in the uni-"verſe." "Nephew," ſaid I, "if you will leave me "there, and call for me as you come back, I care not if I "give my conſent:" but he anſwered, that the merchants would not allow their veſſel, loaden with an infinite value, to return there again, which was a month's ſail out of the way; "beſides, Sir," ſaid he, "if I ſhould "miſcarry, was your requeſt granted, why then you "would be locked up as before." This, indeed, carried a great deal of reaſon in it; but we found out a remedy, and

that was to carry a framed ſloop on board, ready to be ſet up in the iſland, by the aſſiſtance of ſome carpenters, which we ſhould carry with us, that might be fitted in a few days to go to ſea. I was not long in forming my reſolution, which over-ſwayed my good friend the widow's perſuaſions, and the natural affection I bore to my young children. I made my will, and ſettled my eſtate in ſuch manner, that I was perfectly ſure that my poor infants would have juſtice done them. The good widow not only undertook to make proviſion for my voyage, but alſo took the charge of my domeſtic affairs, and to provide for my children's education; and indeed no mother could take more care, or underſtood that office better; for which I lived to reward, and return her my hearty thanks.

The beginning of January, 1694-5, my nephew being ready to ſail, I and Friday went on board in the Downs on the 8th, having, beſides that ſloop already mentioned, a very conſiderable cargo, for my new colony. *Firſt*, I had ſome ſervants, whom I propoſed to leave there, as they ſhould appear willing; there were two carpenters, a ſmith, and a very ingenious fellow who was Jack of all trades; for he was not only a cooper by trade, but alſo he was dexterous at making wheels and hand mills to grind corn, likewiſe a good turner, and a good pot-maker. I alſo carried a tailor, who conſented to ſtay in my plantation, and proved a moſt neceſſary fellow in the iſland. As to my cargo, it conſiſted of a ſufficient quantity of linen, and Engliſh ſtuffs, for clothing the Spaniards that I expected to find there; as likewiſe gloves, hats, ſhoes, ſtockings; together with beds, bedding, and houſehold ſtuff, eſpecially kitchen utenſils, with pots, kettles, pewter, braſs, &c. alſo nails, tools of all ſorts, ſtaples, hooks, hinges, and all other things neceſſary; all which, I think, coſt me about three hundred pounds. Nor was this all: for I carried an hundred ſpare arms, muſkets, and fuſees, beſides ſome piſtols a conſiderable quantity of ſeveral ſorts of ſhot, two braſs cannon, beſides ſwords, cutlaſſes, and the iron part of ſome pikes and halberts. I made my nephew take with us two ſmall quarter deck guns, more than he had occaſion for in his ſhip, to leave behind, if there was a neceſſity; ſo that we might build a fort there, and man it againſt all oppoſers whatſoever.

Well, we put out to ſea; and though I can't ſay this voyage was ſo unproſperous as my others had been, yet

contrary winds drove us ſo far northward, that we were obliged to put in at Galway in Ireland, where we lay wind-bound two and twenty days. Here indeed our proviſions were very cheap, and we added to our ſhip's ſtores by taking ſeveral live hogs, two cows and calves, which I then reſolved to put on ſhore in my iſland, if our neceſſities did not call for them. On the 5th of Febraary we ſailed from Ireland, with a very fair gale, which laſted for ſome days; and I think it was about the 20th of the ſame month, late in the evening, when the mate informed us that he ſaw a flaſh of fire, and heard a gun fired: and when he was ſpeaking, a boy came in, and told us, that the boatſwain had heard another. Upon which we all ran to the quarter-deck, from whence in a few moments we perceived a terrible fire at a diſtance. We had immediately recourſe to our reckonings, in which we were all of opinion, that there could be no land that way, it appearing to be at N. N. W. Hereupon we concluded that ſome ſhip had taken fire at ſea, and that it could not be far off, by the report of the guns which we had heard. We made up directly to it, and in half an hour's time, the wind being fair, we could plainly perceive a great ſhip on fire in the middle of the ſea. Touched with this unhappy diſaſter, and conſidering my former circumſtances, when the Portugueſe Captain took me up, I immediately ordered five guns to be fired, that the poor creatures not ſeeing us, it being dark, (though we could perceive their flame) might be ſenſible there was deliverance at hand, and conſequently might endeavour to ſave themſelves in their boat. Nor was it long before the ſhip blew up in the air, and the fire was extinguiſhed in the ocean. But ſuppoſing them all to be in their boats, we hung out our lanterns, and kept firing till eight o'clock in the morning; when, with our perſpectives, we beheld two boats full of people, making towards us, though the tide was againſt them: then ſpreading out our ancient, and hanging out a waſt, as a ſignal for them to come on board, in half an hour's time, we came up to them, and took them all in, there being no leſs than ſixty-four men, women, and children. It was a French merchant ſhip of three hundred tons, homeward-bound from Quebec, in the river of Canada. The maſter informed me how, by the negligence of the ſteerſman, the ſteerage was ſet on fire: that, at his out-cry for help, the fire was, as they thought, totally extinguiſhed; but, that

ſome ſparks getting between the timber, and within the cieling, it proceeded into the hold, where there was no reſiſting it: that then they got into their boats, as creatures in the laſt extremity, with what proviſion they had, together with oars, ſails, and a compaſs, intending to go back to Newfoundland, the wind blowing at S. E. and by E. though there were ſeveral chances againſt them, as ſtorms to overſet and founder them, rains and colds to benumb and periſh their limbs, and contrary winds to keep them back and ſtarve them; but ſaid he, in this our great diſtreſs, we heard the welcome report of your guns, when with unſpeakable joy, taking down our maſts and ſails, we were reſolved to lie by till morning: but perceiving your light, we ſet our oars at work to keep our boat a head, the ſooner to attain your ſhip, the happy inſtrument of our deliverance.

Indeed, no one can expreſs the joy of theſe poor creatures on this occaſion; fear and grief are eaſily ſet forth; ſighs and tears, with a few motions of the hands and head, are all the demonſtrations of theſe paſſions; but an exceſs of joy, carries in it a thouſand extravagances; eſpecially, I think, amongſt the French, whoſe temper is allowed to be more volatile, paſſionate, ſprightly, and gay, than that of other nations. Some were weeping, tearing themſelves in the greateſt agonies of ſorrow, and running ſtark mad about the ſhip, while the reſt were ſtamping with their feet, wringing their hands, ſinging, laughing, ſwooning away, vomiting, fainting, with a few returning hearty thanks to the Almighty, and croſſing themſelves. I think, if I am not miſtaken, our ſurgeon was obliged to let thirty of them blood. But among the paſſengers, there were two prieſts, the one an old, and the other a young man; but what amazed me more was, that the oldeſt was in the worſt plight; for no ſooner did he perceive himſelf freed from danger, but he dropt down, as it were without life, and, to every one's appearance, quite dead; but the ſurgeon, chafing and rubbing his arm, opened a vein, which at firſt dropped, and then flowing more freely, the old man began to open his eyes, and in a quarter of an hour was well again. But ſoon remembering his happy change, the joy of which whirled his blood about faſter than the veſſels could convey it, he became ſo feveriſh, as made him more fit for bedlam than any other place; but the ſurgeon

giving him a ſleepy doſe, he was perfectly compoſed the next morning.

Remarkable, indeed, was the behaviour of the young prieſt. At his entrance on board the ſhip, he fell on his face in the moſt humble proſtration to the Almighty. I thought, indeed, he had fallen into a ſwoon, and ſo ran to help him up; but he modeſtly told me, he was returning his thanks to the Almighty, deſiring me to leave him a few moments, and that, next to his Creator, he would return me thanks alſo. And, indeed, he did ſo about three minutes after, with great ſeriouſneſs and affection, while the tears ſtood in his eyes, which convinced me of the gratitude of his ſoul. Nor did he leſs ſhew his piety and wiſdom, in applying himſelf to his country people, and labouring to compoſe them, by the moſt powerful reaſons, arguments, and perſuaſions. And when, indeed, theſe people had taken their night's repoſe, in ſuch lodgings as our ſhip would allow, we found nothing but the beſt of manners, and the moſt civil acknowledgments, for which the French are eminently remarkable. The next day the Captain and one of the prieſts deſired to ſpeak with me, and my nephew the commander. They told us, that they had ſaved ſome money and valuable things out of the ruined veſſel, which was at our ſervice: only that they deſired to be ſet on ſhore ſome where in our way. At the firſt, my nephew was for accepting the money; but I (who knew how hard my caſe would have been, had the Portugueſe Captain ſerved me ſo) perſuaded him to the contrary; and therefore told them, that as we had done nothing but what we were obliged to do, by nature and humanity, and what we ourſelves might expect from others in ſuch calamity; ſo we took them up to ſave them, not to plunder them, or leave them naked upon the land, to periſh for want of ſubſiſtence, and therefore would not accept their money: but as to landing them, that was a great difficulty; for, being bound to the Eaſt Indies, it was impoſſible wilfully to change our voyage upon their particular account, nor could my nephew (who was under charter party to purſue it by way of Brazil) anſwer it to the frighters. All that we could do, was to put ourſelves in the way of meeting ſome ſhips homeward bound from the Weſt Indies, that, if poſſible, they might get a paſſage to France or England. Indeed, they were very thankful for our firſt kindneſs; but were under great con-

cern eſpecially the paſſengers, at their being carried to the Eaſt-Indies. They begged, therefore, I would keep on the banks of Newfoundland, where probably, they might meet with ſome ſhip or ſloop to carry them to Canada, whence they came. As this was but a reaſonable requeſt, I was inclined to grant it, ſince it was no breach of charter-party, and that the laws of God and nature obliged us to do what good we could to our fellow creatures; and beſides the danger we ourſelves ſhould be in for want of proviſions: ſo we conſented to carry them to Newfoundland, if wind and weather would permit; if not, that we ſhould carry them to Martinico in the Weſt Indies. But as it happened in a week's time, we made the banks of Newfoundland, where the French people hired a bark to carry them to France. But the young prieſt being deſirous to go to the Eaſt Indies, I readily agreed to it, becauſe I liked his converſation, and two or three of the French ſailors alſo entered themſelves on board our ſhip.

Now, directing our courſe for the Weſt Indies, ſteering S. and S. by E. about twenty days, with little wind, another adventure happened, to exerciſe our humanity. In the latitude of 27 degrees 5 minutes north, the 19th of March 1694-5, we perceived a ſail (our courſe S. E. and by S.) which bore up to us, and then ſhe appeared to be a large veſſel, having loſt her main top-maſt, and bolt-ſprit; when firing a gun, as a ſignal of diſtreſs, wind N. N. W. we ſoon came to ſpeak with her. She was a ſhip from Briſtol, bound home, from Barbadoes, out of which road ſhe had been forced by a hurricane to the weſtward, in which they loſt their maſts.

They told us, their expectations were to ſee the Bahama iſlands, but were driven away by a ſtrong wind at N. N. W. and having no ſails to work the ſhip with, but the main courſe, and a kind of ſquare ſail upon a jury fore-maſt, becauſe they could not come near the land, were endeavouring to ſtand for the Canaries; nay, what was worſe, beſides all their fatigue, they were almoſt ſtarved for want of proviſion, having ate nothing for eleven days; all that they had aboard was ſugar, a barrel of freſh water, and ſeven caſks of rum. In this ſhip were paſſengers, a youth, his mother, and a maid ſervant, who were in a moſt deplorable condition for want of food. If I had not gone on board their ſhip, the knowledge of their miſery had been concealed from me, and they would have inevitably

periſhed, though, indeed, their ſecond mate (who was Captain, by reaſon the true Captain was not on board when the hurricane happened) had before informed me that there were ſuch perſons on board, whom he ſuppoſed to be dead, being afraid to inquire after them, becauſe he had nothing to give them for relief. Hereupon we reſolved to let them have what we could ſpare ordering the mate to bring ſome of his men on board us, which he did accordingly: as he and they looked like ſkeletons, when meat was ſet before them, I ordered them to eat ſparingly. But, however, they ſoon fell ſick; which obliged the ſurgeon to mix ſomething in their broth, which was to be to them both food and phyſic. When they were fed, we ordered our mate to carry them a ſack of bread, and four or five pieces of beef; but the ſurgeon charged them to ſee it boiled, and to keep a guard on the cook-room; to prevent the men from eating it raw, and conſequently killing themſelves with what was deſigned for their relief. But, particularly, I deſired the mate to ſee what condition the poor paſſengers were in, and the ſurgeon gave him a pitcher of the ſame broth which he had prepared for the men. And being curious to ſee this ſcene of miſery myſelf, I took the Captain (as we called the mate of the ſhip) in our own boat, and ſailed after them.

Here was a ſad ſight indeed! ſcarce were the victuals half boiled in the pot, but they were ready to break open the cook-room door. To ſtay their ſtomachs the mate gave them biſcuits, which were dipped in, and ſoftened with, the liquor of the meat, which they call *Brewiſe*; telling them it was for their own ſafety, that he was obliged to give them but a little at a time: and ſo feeding them gradually, their bellies were comfortably filled, and the men did very well again. But when they came to the poor gentlewoman in the cabin, who for ſeveral days, had continued without food, giving what ſhe had to her ſon, they found her as it were in the arms of death. She was ſitting upon the floor of the deck, with her back up againſt the ſides, between two chairs, which were laſhed faſt, and her head ſhrunk between her ſhoulders; like a ſenſeleſs corpſe. Nothing was wanting in my mate to revive and encourage her; opening her lips, and putting ſome broth into her mouth with a ſpoon. But not having ſtrength to ſpeak, ſhe lifted up her head with much difficulty, intimating that it was now too late! at the ſame time pointing

to the youth her ſon, as though ſhe deſired him to do what he could to ſave the lad; and, in a little time after, ſhe died.

The youth, indeed, was not ſo far gone, yet lay ſtretched out on a cabin bed, like one that had ſcarce any life. In his mouth was a piece of an old glove the reſt of which he had ate up. At firſt he vomited what the mate had given him; but at length began ſenſibly to revive, though in the greateſt concern for the death of his tender mother.

As to the poor maid, ſhe lay by her miſtreſs like one in the laſt pangs of death: her limbs were diſtorted, one of her hands was claſped round the frame of a chair, which ſhe graſped ſo hard that it was with ſome difficulty we ſeparated her from it; her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, ſet faſt againſt the frame of the cabin table; not only being ſtarved with hunger, but overcome with grief for the loſs of her miſtreſs, whom ſhe loved moſt tenderly. It was a great while before the ſurgeon could bring her to life, and a much longer time before ſhe came to her ſenſes.

After we had ſailed with them ſome days, we ſent them five barrels of beef, one of pork, two hogſheads of biſcuit, with peaſe, flour, and other things; taking three caſks of ſugar, ſome rum, and ſome pieces of eight as payment, we left them, but took the youth and maid with us, with all their goods. The lad was about ſeventeen years old, very handſome, modeſt, ſenſible, and well bred, but mightily concerned for the loſs of his honoured mother, having loſt his father at Barbadoes but a few months before. He beſeeched the ſurgeon to intercede with me to take him out of the ſhip; for that the ſailors, not ſparing a ſmall ſuſtenance, had ſtarved his mother. But hunger has no bounds, no right, and conſequently is incapable of any compaſſion. When the ſurgeon told him our voyage might put him in bad circumſtances, and farther from his friends, he ſaid, he did not care, if he was delivered from that terrible crew: that as the captain (meaning me) had ſaved him from death, ſo he was ſure he would do him no harm; and as for the maid, when ſhe was reſtored to her ſenſes, ſhe would be no leſs thankful, let us carry them where we would. And indeed the ſurgeon ſo repreſented their caſe to me, that I conſented, and took them on board with all their goods, except eleven hogſheads of

ſugar; but the youth having a bill of lading, I made the commander oblige himſelf to deliver a letter and the deceaſed widow's goods to Mr. Rogers, a merchant in Briſtol; but I believe the ſhip was loſt at ſea, for we never could hear what became of her afterwards. We were now in the latitude of 19 deg. 32 min having as yet a tolerable good voyage. But, paſſing by ſeveral little incidents relating to wind and weather, I ſhall relate what is moſt remarkable concerning my little kingdom, to which I was then drawing near. I had great difficulty in finding it; for as I came to, and went from it before, on the ſouth and eaſt ſide of the iſland, as coming from the Brazils, ſo now approaching between the main and the iſland, not having any chart for the coaſt, nor land-mark, it obliged us to go on ſhore on ſeveral iſlands in the mouth of the river Oroonoko, but to no purpoſe. Thus I perceived, that what I thought was a continent before, was no ſuch thing, but a long iſland, or rather a ridge of ſands. On one of theſe iſlands I found ſome Spaniards, but they belonged to the iſle de Trinidad, who came hither in a ſloop to make ſalt, and try to find ſome pearl muſcles. But at length I came fair on the ſouth ſide of my iſland, and then I preſently knew the countenance of my little kingdom; ſo we brought the ſhip ſafe to an anchor, broadſide within the little creek, where ſtood my ancient and venerable caſtle.

No ſooner did I ſee the place, but calling for Friday, I aſked him where he was? But when he looked a little, he clapped his hands, crying, "O joy, O there, O yes, O "there!" pointing to our old abode, and then fell a dancing and capering as if he was mad, and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the ſea, to ſwim aſhore. "Fri- "day," ſaid I, "what do you think, ſhall we go to ſee your "father?" At the mentioning his father's name the poor affectionate creature fell a weeping: "No, no," ſays he, "me ſee him no more, never ſee poor father more! he long "ago die, die long ago; he much old man." "You don't "know that," ſaid I; "but ſhall we ſee any body elſe?" He looks about and pointing to the hill above my houſe, cries out, "We ſee, we ſee there much men and there;" which, though I could not perceive them with my perſpective glaſs, was true, by what the men themſelves told me the next day.

When the Engliſh ancient was ſpread, and three guns fired as a ſignal of friendſhip, we perceived a ſmoke riſe

from the creek; upon which I ordered the boat out, taking Friday with me, and hanging out a white flag of truce, I went on ſhore, accompanied alſo by the young friar, to whom I had related the hiſtory of the firſt part of my life; beſides, we had ſixteen men well armed, in caſe we had met with any oppoſition.

After we had rowed directly into the creek, the firſt man I fixed my eye upon was the Spaniard whoſe life I had ſaved, and whoſe face I perfectly well knew. I ordered them all to ſtay in the boat for a while; but Friday perceiving his father at a diſtance, would have jumped in the ſea, had they not let the boat go. No ſooner was he on ſhore, but he flew like a ſwift arrow out of a bow, to embrace his aged father. Certainly it would melt a man of the firmeſt reſolution into the ſofteſt tears, to ſee with what uncommon tranſports of joy he ſaluted him; he firſt kiſſed him, then ſtroaked his face, took him in his arms, laid him under a ſhady tree, ſat down by him, then looked as earneſtly at him as one could do at a picture, for a quarter of an hour together. After this he would lie upon the ground, ſtroak his legs and kiſs them, then get up and ſtare at him, as though he was bewitched; but the next day one could not forbear laughter to ſee his behaviour, for he would walk ſeveral hours with his father along the ſhore, leading him by the hand as though he was a lady; while every now and then, he would run to the boat, to get ſomething for him, as a lump of ſugar, dram, biſcuit, or ſomething or other that was good. His frolics ran in another channel in the afternoon; when he ſet old Friday on the ground, he would dance round him, making comical poſtures and geſtures: and all this while would be telling him one ſtory or another of his travels and adventures.

It was on the 10th of April, *anno* 1695, that I ſet my foot upon the iſland a ſecond time. When my faithful Spaniard, accompanied by one more, approached the boat, he little knew who I was, till I diſcovered myſelf to him. "Signior," ſaid I, in Portugueſe, "don't you know me?" He ſpoke never a word, but giving his muſket to his attendant, extended his arms, and ſaying ſomething in Spaniſh that I did not then underſtand, he came forward and embraced me, ſaying, he was inexcuſable, not to know his deliverer; who, like an angel ſent from heaven, had ſaved his life. He then beckoned to the man to call out his companions, aſking me if I would walk to my own habita-

tion, and take poſſeſſion, where I ſhould find ſome mean improvements; but indeed they were extraordinary ones; for they had planted ſo many trees ſo cloſe together, that the place was like a labyrinth, which none could find out except themſelves, who knew its intricate windings. I aſked him the meaning of all theſe fortifications? he told me he would give a large account of what had paſſed ſince my departure till this time, and how he had ſubdued ſome Engliſh, who thought to be their murderers, hoping I would not be diſpleaſed, ſince neceſſity compelled them to it. As I knew they were wicked villains, ſo I told him, that I was not only far from finding fault with it, but was rather heartily glad that they had ſubdued them. While we were thus talking, the man whom he ſent returned, accompanied by eleven more, but in ſuch habits, that it was impoſſible to tell what nations they were of. He firſt turned to me, and pointing to them, Theſe, Sir, ſaid he, are ſome of the gentlemen who owe their lives to your goodneſs; then turning to them, and pointing to me, he made them ſenſible who I was; and then indeed they ſaluted me one by one, not as ordinary men, but as though they had been ambaſſadors or noblemen, and I a triumphant conqueror; for their behaviour not only agreed with a manlike, majeſtic gravity, but at the ſame time was ſo obliging and courteous, as made them agreeable to the laſt degree.

Before I relate the hiſtory of the tranſactions of my kingdom, as I had it from the Spaniard's own mouth, I muſt here inſert what I omitted in my former relation. The matter is this: Juſt before we weighed anchor to ſet ſail, there happened a quarrel on board the ſhip, which had like to have occaſioned a ſecond mutiny, till ſuch time as the courageous captain, taking two of the moſt refractory priſoners laid, them in irons, threatening, as they were concerned in the former diſorders, to have them hanged in England for running away with the ſhip. This frightened ſome of the reſt, as thinking the captain would ſerve them in the ſame manner, though he ſeemed to give them good words for the preſent. But the mate having intelligence of this, made me acquainted with their fears: ſo that, to make them more eaſy, and ourſelves more ſafe from their conſpiracies, I was obliged to go down, and paſs my honour's word for it, that, upon their good behaviour, all that was paſt ſhould be forgiven: in teſtimony of which, I or-

dered the two men's irons to be taken off, and themſelves forgiven. But as this had brought us to an anchor that night, in which there was a calm, the two men that had been in irons ſtole each of them a muſket, and ſome other weapons, and taking the ſhip's pinnace, not yet hauled up, ran away to their brother rogues. The next morning we ſent the long-boat, with men to purſue them, but all in vain; the mate, in revenge, would have demoliſhed my little caſtle, burnt its furniture, and deſtroyed their plantations, but having no orders for it, he did not put it in execution. And thus there were five Engliſhmen in the Iſland, which cauſed great differences, as my faithful Spaniard gave me a perfect account of, in the following manner:

" You cannot Sir, but remember the embaſſy you ſent me about, and what a diſappointment we met with, by your abſence, at our return. There is but little variety in the relation of all our voyage, being bleſſed with calm weather, and a ſmooth ſea. Great indeed was the joy of my countrymen to ſee me alive, having acted as the principal man on board, the captain of the ſhipwrecked veſſel dying before; nor was their ſurpriſe leſs, as knowing I was taken priſoner by the ſavages of another nation, they had thought me long ſince entombed in their monſtrous bowels. But when I ſhewed them the arms, ammunition, and proviſions I had brought for them, they looked upon me as a ſecond Joſeph advanced in Pharaoh's court, and immediately prepared to come along with me. Indeed they were obliged to treſpaſs upon their friendly ſavages, by borrowing two of their canoes, under a pretext for fiſhing: and they came away the next morning, but without any proviviſions of their own, except a few roots, which ſerved them inſtead of bread. After three weeks abſence we arrived at our habitation. Here we met with three Engliſh ſailors, who, I confeſs, gave us proviſions, and that letter of direction you had left for us, which informed us how to bring up tame goats, plant corn, cure grapes, make pots; and in ſhort, every thing that was neceſſary for our uſe. As, in particular, I knew your method beſt, ſo taking Friday's father to aſſiſt me, we managed all the affairs; nor were the reſt of the Spaniards wanting in their kind offices, dreſſing food for the Engliſhmen, who did nothing but ramble and divert themſelves in the woods, either ſhooting parrots, or catching tortoiſes. But we had not been

long aſhore, before we were informed of two more Engliſhmen, unnaturally turned out of their common place of reſidence by the three others above-mentioned: this made my Spaniards and me (whom they now looked upon as their governor in your abſence,) endeavour to perſuade them to take them in, that we might be as one family; but all our intreaties were in vain, ſo that the poor fellows, finding nothing to be done without induſtry, pitched their tents on the north ſide of the iſland, a little inclining to the weſt, for fear of ſavages Here they built two huts, one to lodge, and the other to lay their ſtores in; for my good natured Spaniards giving them ſome ſeeds, they dug and planted as I had done, and began to live prettily. But while they were thus comfortably going on, the three unnatural brutes, their countrymen, in a mere bullying humour, inſulted them, by ſaying, the governor, (meaning you) had given them poſſeſſion of the iſland, and d—mn 'em they ſhould build no houſes upon their ground, without paying rent. The two honeſt men (for ſo let me now diſtinguiſh them) thought their three countrymen only jeſted, and one of them invited them in, to ſee their fine habitations; while the other facetiouſly told them, that ſince they built tenements, with great improvements, they ſhould, according to the cuſtom of lords, give them a longer leaſe; at the ſame time deſiring them to fetch a ſcrivener to draw the writings. One of theſe wretches ſwearing he ſhould pay for the jeſt, ſnatches up a fire-brand and clapping it to the outſide of their hut, very fairly ſet it on fire, which would ſoon have conſumed it, had not the honeſt man thruſt him away, and trod, it out with his feet. Hereupon the fellow returns with a pole, with which he would have ended his days had not the poor man avoided the blow, when fetching his muſket he knocked down the villain that began the quarrel. The other two coming to aſſiſt their fellow, obliged the honeſt man to take his muſket alſo, and both of them preſenting their pieces, bid the villains ſtand off; and if they did not lay down their arms, death ſhould decide the diſpute one way or other. This brought them to a parley, in which they agreed to take their wounded man and be gone; but they were in the wrong that they did not diſarm them when they had the power, and then make their complaint to me and my Spaniards for juſtice, which might have prevented their farther deſigns againſt them. And indeed ſo many treſ-

paſſes did they afterwards commit, by treading down their corn, ſhooting their young kids and goats, and plaguing them night and day, that they reſolved to come to my caſtle, challenge all the three, and decide their right by one plain battle, while the Spaniards ſtood bye to ſee fair play. One day it happened, that two of my Spaniards (one of whom underſtood Engliſh) being in the woods, were met by one of the honeſt men, who complained how barbarous their countrymen had been in deſtroying their corn, killing their milk goat and three kids, which deprived them of their ſubſiſtence; and that if we did not grant them relief, they muſt be inevitably ſtarved, and ſo they parted; but when my Spaniard came home at night, and ſupper being on the table, one of them began to reprehend the Engliſhmen, but in a very mannerly way; which they reſenting, replied, What buſineſs had their countrymen in that place without leave, when it was none of their ground? "Why", ſaid my Spaniard calmly, "*Inglſe*, they muſt not ſtarve:" but they replied, "Let them ſtarve and be damn'd, they ſhould neither plant nor build; and damn them, they ſhould be their ſervants, and work for them, for the iſland was theirs, and they would burn all the huts they ſhould find in the iſland." "By this rule," ſaid my Spaniard, ſmiling, "we ſhall be your ſervants too." "Aye, by G—d, and ſo you ſhall," replied the impudent raſcal. Upon which, ſtarting up, Will Atkins cries, "Come, Jack, let's have t'other bruſh with them; who dare to build in our dominions?" Thus leaving us ſomething heated with juſt paſſion, away they trooped, every man having a gun, piſtol, and ſword, muttering ſome threatning words, that we could then but imperfectly underſtand. That night they deſigned to murder their two companions, and ſlept till midnight in the bower, thinking to fall upon them in their ſleep; nor were the honeſt men leſs thoughtful concerning them; for at this juncture they were coming to find them out, but in a much fairer way. As ſoon as the villains came to the huts, and found no body there, they concluded that I and my Spaniard had given them notice, and therefore ſwore to be revenged on us. Then they demoliſhed the poor men's habitations; not by fire, as they attempted before, but pulled down their houſes, limb from limb, not leaving ſtick nor ſtone on the ground where they ſtood, broke their houſehold ſtuff in pieces, tore up their trees, ſpoiled their incloſures, and, in

ſhort, quite ruined them of every thing they had. Had theſe people met together, no doubt but there would have been a bloody battle; but Providence ordered it for the better; for juſt as the three were got together, the two were at our caſtle; and when they left us, the three came back again, but in great rage, ſcoffingly telling us what they had done; when one taking hold of a Spaniard's hat, twirls it round, ſaying, "And you, Signior Jack "Spaniard, ſhall have the ſame ſauce, if you don't mend "your manners." My Spaniard, a grave but courageous man, knocked him down with one blow of his fiſt; at which another villain fired his piſtol, and narrowly miſſed his body, but wounded him a little in the ear. Hereat enrag'd, the Spaniard takes up the fellow's muſket whom he had knocked down, and would have ſhot him, if I and the reſt had not come out, and taken their arms from every one of them.

"Theſe Engliſhmen perceiving they had made all of us their enemies, began to cool; but notwithſtanding their better words, the Spaniards would not return them their arms again, telling them, they would do them no manner of harm, if they would live peaceably; but if they offered any injury to the plantation or caſtle, they would ſhoot them as they would do ravenous beaſts. This made them ſo mad, that they went away raging like furies of hell. They were no ſooner gone, but in came the two honeſt men, fired with the juſteſt rage, if ſuch can be, having been ruined as aforeſaid. And indeed it was very hard, that nineteen of us ſhould be bullied by three villains, continually offending with impunity.

"It was a great while, Sir, before we could perſuade the two Engliſhmen from purſuing, and undoubtedly killing them with their fire-arms; but we promiſed them juſtice ſhould be done them, and, in the mean time, they ſhould reſide with us in our habitation. In about five days after, theſe three vagrants, almoſt ſtarved with hunger, drew near our grove, and perceiving me, the governor, and two others walking by the ſide of the creek, they very ſubmiſſively deſired to be received into the family again. We told them of their great incivility to us, and of their unnatural barbarity to their countrymen; but yet we would ſee what the reſt agreed to, and in half an hour's time would bring them word. After ſome debate, we called them in, where their two countrymen laid a heavy charge

againſt them, for not only ruining, but deſigning to murder them, which they could not deny. But here I was forced to interpoſe as a mediator, by obliging the two Engliſhmen not to hurt them being naked and unarmed, and that the other three ſhould make them reſtitution, by building their two huts, and fencing their ground in the ſame manner as it was before. Well, being in a miſerable condition, they ſubmitted to this at preſent, and lived ſome time regularly enough, except as to the working part, which they did not care for, but the Spaniards would have diſpenſed with that, had they continued eaſy and quiet. Their arms being given them again, they ſcarce had them a week when they became as troubleſome as ever; but an accident happening ſoon after, obliged us to lay aſide private reſentments, and look to our common preſervation.

"One night, Sir, I went to bed, perfectly well in health, and yet by no means could I compoſe myſelf to ſleep; upon which, being very uneaſy, I got up, and looked out; but it being dark, I could perceive nothing but the trees around my caſtle. I went to bed again, but it was all one, I could not ſleep; when one of my Spaniards, hearing me walk about, aſked who it was up? I anſwered, "It is I." When I told him the occaſion, "Sir," ſaid he, "ſuch things are not to be ſlighted; for certainly there is ſome miſchief plotting againſt us." "Where are the Engliſhmen?" ſaid I. He anſwered, "In their huts;" for they lay ſeparate from us, Sir, ſince the laſt mutiny. "Well," ſaid I, "ſome kind ſpirit gives this information for advantage. Come, let us go abroad, and ſee if any things offer to juſtify our fears." Upon which I and ſome of my Spaniards went up the mountain, not by the ladder, but thro' the grove; and then we were ſtruck with a panic fear on ſeeing a light, as though it were a fire, at a very little diſtance, and hearing the voice of ſeveral men. Hereupon we retreated immediately and raiſed the reſt of our forces, and made them ſenſible of the impending danger; but with all my authority, I could not make them ſtay where they were, ſo earneſt were they to ſee how things went. Indeed the darkneſs of the night gave them opportunity enough to view them by the light of the fire, undiſcovered. As they were in different parties, and ſtraggling over the ſhore, we were much afraid that they ſhould find out our habitations, and deſtroy our flocks of goats: to prevent which, we ſent immediately an Engliſhman and two Spaniards to drive

the goats into the valley where the cave lay; or, if there was occaſion, into the cave itſelf: As to ourſelves, reſuming our native courage, and prudent conduct, had we not been divided, we durſt venture to attack an hundred of them; but before it was yet light, we reſolved to ſend out Friday's father as a ſpy, who, immediately ſtripping himſelf naked, gets among them undiſcovered, and in two hours time brings word, that they were two parties of two different nations, who lately having a bloody battle with one another, happened to land by mere chance in the ſame iſland, to devour their miſerable priſoners; that they were entirely ignorant of any perſon's inhabiting here; but rather being filled with rage and fury againſt one another, he believed, that as ſoon as day-light appeared, there would be a terrible engagement. Old Friday had ſcarce ended his relation when we heard an uncommon noiſe, and perceived that there was a horrid engagement between the two armies.

"Such was the curioſity of our party, eſpecially the Engliſhmen, that they would not lye cloſe, though Old Friday told them their ſafety depended upon it; and that if we had patience, we ſhould behold the ſavages kill one another. However they uſed ſome caution, by going farther into the woods, and placing themſelves in a convenient place to behold the battle.

"Never could there be a more bloody engagement, or men of more invincible ſpirits, and prudent conduct, according to their way and manner of fighting. It laſted near two hours, till the party which was neareſt our caſtle began to decline, and at laſt to fly from their conquerors. We were undoubtedly put into a great conſternation on this account, leſt they ſhould run into our grove, and conſequently bring us into the like danger. Hereupon we reſolved to kill the firſt that came, to prevent diſcovery, and that too with our ſwords, and the butt end of our muſkets, for fear the report of our guns ſhould be heard.

"And ſo indeed, as we thought, it happened; for three of the vanquiſhed army croſſing the creek, ran directly to the place, as to a thick wood for ſhelter; nor was it long before our ſcout gave us notice of it; as alſo, that the victors did not think fit to purſue them. Upon this I would not ſuffer them to be ſlain, but had them ſurprized and taken by our party; afterwards they proved very good ſervants to us, being ſtout young creatures, and able

to do a great deal of work. The remainder of the conquered ſavages fled to their canoes, and put out into the ocean, while the conquerors joining together, ſhouted by way of triumph, and about three in the afternoon they alſo embarked for their own nation. Thus we were freed at once from theſe ſavages and our fears, not perceiving any of theſe creatures for ſome conſiderable time after. We found two and thirty men dead in the field of battle; ſome were ſlain with long arrows, which we found ſticking in their bodies: and the reſt were killed with great unwieldy wooden ſwords, which denoted their vaſt ſtrength, and of which we found ſeventeen, beſides bows and arrows: but we could not find one wounded creature among them alive; for they either kill their enemies quite, or carry thoſe wounded away with them.

"This terrible ſight tamed the Engliſhmen for ſome time, conſidering how unfortunate they might have been had they fallen into their hands, who would not only kill them as enemies, but alſo for food, as we do cattle; and indeed ſo much did this nauſeate their ſtomachs, that it not only made them very ſick, but more tractable to the common neceſſary buſineſs of the whole ſociety, planting, ſowing, and reaping, with the greateſt ſigns of amity and friendſhip; ſo that, being now all good friends, we began to conſider of circumſtances in general; and the firſt thing we thought of, was, whether, as we perceived the ſavages haunted that ſide of the iſland, and there being more retired parts of it, and yet as well ſuited to our manner of living, and equally to our advantage, we ought not rather to move our place of reſidence, and plant it in a much ſafer place, both for the ſecurity of our corn and cattle?

"After a long debate on this head, it was reſolved, or rather voted, *nemine contradicente*, not to remove our ancient caſtle, and that for this very good reaſon, that ſome time or other we expected to hear from our ſupreme governor, (meaning you, Sir,) whoſe meſſengers not finding us there, might think the place demoliſhed, and all his ſubjects deſtroyed by the ſavages.

"As to the next concern relating to our corn and cattle, we conſented to have them removed to the valley where the cave was, that being moſt proper and ſufficient for both. But yet, when we conſidered farther, we altered one part of our reſolution, which was to remove part of our cattle

hither, and plant only part of our corn there; ſo that in caſe one part was deſtroyed the other might be preſerved. Another reſolution we took, which really had a great deal of prudence in it; and that was, in not truſting the three ſavages whom we had taken priſoners, with any knowledge of the plantations we had made in the valley, of what number of cattle we had there, much leſs of the cave, wherein we kept ſeveral arms, and two barrels of powder you left for us at your departure from this iſland. But though we could not change our habitation, we reſolved to make it more fortified and more ſecret. To this end, Sir, as you planted trees at ſome diſtance before the entrance of your palace; ſo we, imitating your example, planted and filled up the whole ſpace of ground, even to the banks of the creek, nay, into the very ooze where the tide flowed, not leaving a place for landing; and among thoſe I had planted, they had intermingled ſo many ſhort ones, all of which growing wonderfully faſt and thick, a little dog could ſcarcely find a paſſage through them. Nor was this ſufficient, as we thought; for we did the ſame to all the ground, to the right and left hand of us, even to the top of the hill, without ſo much as leaving a paſſage for ourſelves, except by the ladder; which being taken down, nothing but what had wings or witchcraft could pretend to come near us. And indeed this was exceedingly well contrived, eſpecially to ſerve that occaſion, for which we afterwards found it neceſſary.

"Thus we lived two years in a happy retirement, having, all this time, not one viſit from the ſavages. Indeed one morning, we had an alarm, which put us in ſome amazement: for a few of my Spaniards being out very early, perceived no leſs than twenty canoes, as it were coming on ſhore: upon which returning home, with great precipitation, they gave us the alarm, which obliged us to keep at home all that day, and the next, going out only in the night-time, to make our obſervations; but, as good luck would have it, they were upon another deſign, and did not land that time upon the iſland.

But now there happened another quarrel between the three wicked Engliſhmen, and ſome of my Spaniards. The occaſion was this: One of them being enraged at one of the ſavages, whom he had taken priſoner for not being able to comprehend ſomething which he was ſhewing him, ſnatched up a hatchet in a great fury, not to correct, but to kill him;

yet miſſing his head, gave him ſuch a barbarous cut in the ſhoulder, that he had like to have ſtruck of his arm: at which one of my good-natured Spaniards interpoſing between the Engliſhman and the ſavage, beſeeched the former not to murder the poor creature: but this kindneſs had like to have coſt the Spaniard his life, for the Engliſhman ſtruck at him in the ſame manner; which he nimbly and wiſely avoiding, returned ſuddenly upon him with his ſhovel, (being all at work about their corn-land) and very fairly knocked the brutiſh creature down. Hereupon, another Engliſhman coming to his fellow's aſſiſtance, laid the good Spaniard on the earth; when immediately two others coming to his relief, were attacked by the third Engliſhman, armed with an old cutlaſs, who wounded them both. This uproar ſoon reached our ears, when we, ruſhing out upon them, took the three Engliſhmen priſoners, and then our next queſtion was, what ſhould be done to ſuch mutinous and impudent fellows, ſo furious, deſperate, and idle, that they were miſchievous to the higheſt degree, and conſequently not ſafe for the ſociety to let them live among them.

"Now, Sir, as I was governor in your abſence, ſo I alſo took the authority of a judge; and, having them brought before me, I told them, that if they had been of my country, I would have hanged every mother's ſon of them; but, ſince it was an Engliſhman (meaning you, kind Sir) to whom we were indebted for our preſervation and deliverance, I would, in gratitude, uſe them with all poſſible mildneſs; but at the ſame time, leave them to the judgment of the other two Engliſhmen, who, I hoped, forgetting their reſentments, would deal impartially by them.

"Hereupon, one of his countrymen ſtood up: "Sir," ſaid he, "leave it not to us, for you may be ſenſible we "have reaſon to ſentence them to the gallows: beſides, Sir, "this fellow, Will Atkins, and the two others, propoſed "to us, that we might murder you all in your ſleep, which "we would not conſent to: but, knowing their inability, "and your vigilance, we did not think fit to diſcover it "before now."

"How, Seignior," ſaid I, "do you hear what is alleged againſt you? What can you ſay to juſtify ſo horrid an action, as to murder us in cold blood?" So far, Sir, was the wretch from denying it, that he ſwore, d—n him but he would do it ſtill. "But what have we done to you, Seig-

nior Atkins," ſaid I, "or what will you gain by killing us? What ſhall we do to prevent you! Muſt we kill you, or you kill us: Why will you, Seignior Atkins," ſaid I, ſmiling, "put us to ſuch an unhappy dilemma, ſuch a fatal neceſſity:" But ſo great a rage did my ſcoffing, and yet ſevere jeſt, put him into, that he was going to fly at me, and undoubtedly had attempted to kill me if he had been poſſeſſed of weapons, and had not been prevented by three Spaniards. This unparalleled and villainous carriage, made us ſeriouſly conſider what was to be done. The two Engliſhmen and the Spaniard, who had ſaved the poor Indian's life, mightily petitioned me to hang one of them, for an example to the others, which ſhould be him that had twice attempted to commit murder with his hatchet, it being at that time thought impoſſible the poor ſlave could recover. But they could never gain my conſent to put him to death, for the reaſons above-mentioned, ſince it was an Engliſhman (even yourſelf) who was my deliverer: and as merciful counſels are moſt prevailing, when earneſtly preſſed, ſo I got them to be of the ſame opinion as to clemency. But, to prevent their doing us any farther miſchief, we all agreed, that they ſhould have no weapons, as ſword, gun, powder, or ſhot, but be expelled from the ſociety, to live as they pleaſed by themſelves; that neither the two Engliſhmen, nor the reſt of the Spaniards, ſhould have converſation with them upon any account whatſoever: that they ſhould be kept from coming within a certain diſtance of our caſtle; and if they dared to offer us any violence, either by ſpoiling, burning, killing, or deſtroying any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle belonging to the ſociety, we would ſhoot them as freely as we would do beaſts of prey, in whatſoever places we ſhould find them.

"This ſentence ſeemed very juſt to all but themſelves; when, like a merciful judge, I called out to the two honeſt Engliſhmen, ſaying, You muſt conſider they ought not to be ſtarved neither; and ſince it will be ſome time before they can raiſe corn and cattle of their own, let us give them ſome corn to laſt them eight months, and for ſeed to ſow, by which time they'll raiſe ſome for themſelves; let us alſo beſtow upon them ſix milch-goats, four he ones, and ſix kids, as well for their preſent ſupport, as for a further increaſe; with tools neceſſary for their work, as hatchets, an axe, ſaw, and other things convenient to build them huts:

all which were agreed: but before they took them into poſſeſſion, I obliged them ſolemnly to ſwear, never to attempt any thing againſt us or their countrymen for the future. Thus diſmiſſing them from our ſociety, they went away, ſullen and refractory, as though neither willing to go nor ſtay; however, ſeeing no remedy, they took what proviſion was given them, propoſing to chuſe a convenient place, where they might live by themſelves.

About five days after, they came to thoſe limits appointed, in order for more victuals, and ſent me word by one of my Spaniards, whom they called to, where they had pitched their tents, and marked themſelves out an habitation and plantation, at the N. E. and moſt remote part of the iſland. And indeed there they built themſelves two very handſome cottages, reſembling our little caſte, being under the ſide of a mountain, with ſome trees already growing on three ſides of it; ſo that planting a few more, it would be obſcured from ſight, unleſs particularly ſought for. When theſe huts were finiſhed, we gave them ſome dry goat ſkins for bedding and covering; and upon their giving us fuller aſſurances of their good behaviour for the future, we gave them ſome peas, barley, and rice for ſowing, and whatever tools we could ſpare.

Six months did they live in this ſeparate condition, in which they got their firſt harveſt in, the quantity of which was but ſmall, becauſe they had planted but little land: for indeed, all their plantations being to form, made it more difficult eſpecially as it was a thing out of their element; and when they were obliged to make their boards and pots, &c. they could make little or nothing of it. But the rainy ſeaſon coming on, put them into a greater perplexity for want of a cave to keep their corn dry, and prevent it from ſpoiling: and ſo much did this humble them, that they begged of my Spaniards to help them, to which the good-natured men readily conſented, and in four days ſpace, worked a great hole in the ſide of the hill for them, large enough for their purpoſe, to ſecure their corn and other things from the rain, though not comparable to ours, which had ſeveral additional apartments.

But a new whim poſſeſſed theſe rogues about three quarters of a year after, which had liked to have ruined us, and themſelves too: for, it ſeems, being tired and weary of this ſort of living, which made them work for themſelves, without hopes of changing their condition, nothing

would ſerve them, but that they would make a voyage to the continent, and try if they could ſeize upon ſome of the ſavages, and bring them over as ſlaves, to do their drudgery, while they lived at eaſe and pleaſure.

Indeed the project was not ſo prepoſterous, if they had not gone farther; but they neither did, nor propoſed any thing, but what had miſchief in the deſign, or the event. One morning, theſe three fellows came down to the limited ſtation, and humbly deſired to be admitted to talk with us, which we readily granted; they told us in ſhort, that being tired of their manner of living and the labour of their hands, in ſuch employments, not being ſufficient to procure the neceſſaries of life, they only deſired one of the canoes we came over in, with ſome arms and ammunition, for their defence, and they would ſeek their fortnnes abroad, and never trouble us any more. To be ſure, we were glad enough to get rid of ſuch wretched plagues; but yet honeſty made us ingenuouſly repreſent to them, by what we ourſelves had ſuffered, the certain deſtruction they were running into either of being ſtarved to death, or murdered by the ſavages. To this they very audaciouſly replied, that they neither could nor would work; and conſequently that they might as well be ſtarved abroad as at home; and as to their falling into the hands of the ſavages, why if they were murdered, that was nothing to us, there was an end of them; neither had they any wives or children to cry after them; nay, ſo intent were they upon their voyage, that if the Spaniards had not given them arms, ſo they had but the canoe they would have gone without them.

"Though we could not well ſpare our fire-arms, rather than they ſhould go like naked men, we let them have two muſkets, a piſtol, a cutlaſs, and three hatchets, which were thought very ſufficient; we gave them alſo goats fleſh, a great baſket full of dried grapes, a pot of freſh butter, a young live kid, and a large canoe ſufficient to carry twenty men. And thus, with a maſt, made of a long pole, and a ſail of ſix large goats ſkins dried, having a fair breeze, and a flood tide with them, they merrily ſailed away, the Spaniards calling after them, *Bon voyage*, no man ever expecting to ſee them more.

"When they were gone, the Spaniards and Engliſhmen would often ſay to one another, "O how peaceably do we "now live, ſince thoſe turbulent fellows have left us?"

Nothing could be farther from their thoughts than to behold their faces any more; and yet ſcarce two and twenty days had paſſed over their heads, but one of the Engliſhmen, being abroad a planting, perceived, at a diſtance, three men, well armed, approaching towards him. Away he flies with ſpeed to our caſtle, and tells me and the reſt, that we were all undone, for that ſtrangers were landed upon the iſland, and who they were he could not tell; but added that they were not ſavages, but men habited, bearing arms. Why then, ſaid I, we have the leſs occaſion to be concerned, ſince, if they are not Indians, they muſt be friends; for I am ſure there is no Chriſtian people upon earth, but what will do us good rather than harm. But while we were conſidering of the event, up came the three Engliſhmen, whoſe voices we quickly knew, and ſo all our admiration of that nature ceaſed at once. And our wonder was ſucceeded by another ſort of inquiry, which was, what could be the occaſion of their returning ſo quickly to the iſland, when we little expected, and much leſs deſired their company? But as this was better to be related by themſelves, I ordered them to be brought in, when they gave me the following relation of their voyage.

"After two days ſail, or ſomething leſs, they reached land, where they found the people coming to give them another ſort of reception than what they expected or deſired: for as the ſavages were armed with bows and arrows, they durſt not venture on ſhore, but ſteered northward, ſix or ſeven hours till they gained an opening, by which they plainly perceived, that the land that appeared from this place, was not the main land, but an iſland. At their entrance into the opening of the ſea, they diſcovered another iſland, on the right hand northward, and ſeveral more lying to the weſtward; but being reſolved to go on ſhore ſome where or other, they put over to one of the weſtern iſlands. Here they found the natives very courteous to them, giving them ſeveral roots and dried fiſh: nay, even their women too were as willing to ſupply them with what they could procure them to eat, bringing it a great way to them upon their heads. Among theſe hoſpitable Indians they continued ſome days, inquiring by ſigns and tokens, what nations lay around them; and were informed that there were ſeveral fierce and terrible people live every way, accuſtomed to eat mankind: but for them

ſelves they never uſed ſuch diet, except thoſe that were taken in battle, and of them they made a ſolemn feaſt.

"The Engliſhmen inquired how long it was ſince they had a feaſt of that kind? they anſwered, about two moons ago, pointing to the moon; and then two fingers; that, at this time, their king had two hundred priſoners, which were fattening up for the ſlaughter. The Engliſhmen were mighty deſirous of ſeeing the priſoners, which the others miſtaking, thought that they wanted ſome of them for their own food: upon which they beckoned to them, pointing to the riſing, and then to the ſetting of the ſun: meaning, that by the time it appeared in the eaſt next morning, they would bring them ſome: and indeed they were as good as their word; for by that time they brought eleven men and five women, juſt as ſo many cows and oxen are brought to ſea-port towns, to victual a ſhip. But as brutiſh as theſe Engliſhmen were, their ſtomachs turned at the ſight. What to do in this caſe, they could not tell: to refuſe the priſoners, would have been the higheſt affront offered to the ſavage gentry; and to diſpoſe of them, they knew not in what manner: however, they reſolved to accept them, and ſo gave them, in return, one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and ſix or ſeven of their bullets; things which, tho' they were wholly ignorant of, yet they ſeemed entirely contented with; and dragging the poor wretches into the boat, with their hands bound behind them, delivered them to the Engliſhmen. But this obliged them to put off as ſoon as they had theſe preſents, leſt the doners ſhould have expected two or three of them to be killed, and to be invited to dinner the next day: and ſo taking leave with all poſſible reſpects and thanks, though neither of them underſtood what the others ſaid, they ſailed away back to the firſt iſland, and there ſet eight of the priſoners at liberty. In their voyage they endeavoured to comfort, and have ſome converſation with the poor captives; but it was impoſſible to make them ſenſible of any thing; and nothing they could ſay or give, or do for them, could make them otherwiſe perſuaded, but that they were unbound only to be devoured: if they gave them any food, they thought it was only to fatten them for the ſlaughter; or looked at any one more particularly, the poor creature ſuppoſed itſelf to be the firſt ſacrifice; and even when we brought them to our iſland, and began to

uſe them with the greateſt humanity and kindneſs, yet they expected every day that their new maſters would devour them.

"And thus, Sir, did theſe three ſtrange wanderers conclude their unaccountable relation of their voyage, which was both amazing and entertaining. Hereupon, I aſked them, where their new family was? They told me, they had put them in one of their huts, and they came to beg ſome victuals for them. This, indeed, made us all long to ſee them; and taking Friday's father with us, leaving only two at our caſtle, we came down to behold theſe poor creatures.

"When we arrived at the hut, (they being bound again by the Engliſhmen, for fear of eſcaping) we found them ſtark naked, expecting their fatal tragedy; there were three luſty men, well ſhaped, with ſtraight and good limbs, between thirty and five and thirty years old; and five women, two of them might be from thirty to forty, two more not above four and twenty; and the laſt a comely tall maiden of about ſeventeen. Indeed, all the women were very agreeable, both in proportion and features, except that they were tawny, which their modeſt behaviour, and other graces, made amends for, when they afterwards came to be clothed.

"This naked appearance, together with their miſerable circumſtances, was no very comfortable ſight to my Spaniards, who, for their parts, I may venture, Sir, without flattery, to ſay, are men of the beſt behaviour, calmeſt tempers, and ſweeteſt nature, that can poſſibly be; for they immediately ordered Friday's father to ſee if he knew any of them, or if he underſtood what they could ſay. No ſooner did the old Indian appear, but he looked at them with great ſerioufneſs; yet, as they were not of his nation, they were utter ſtrangers to him, and none could underſtand his ſpeech or ſigns, but one woman. This was enough to anſwer the deſign, which was to aſſure them they would not be killed, being fallen into the hands of Chriſtians, who abhorred ſuch barbarity. When they were fully ſatisfied of this, they expreſſed their joy by ſuch ſtrange geſtures, and uncommon tones, as it is not poſſible for me to deſcribe. But the woman, their interpreter, was ordered next to inquire, whether they were content to be ſervants, and would work for the men, who had brought them hither to ſave their lives? Hereupon, (being at this time

unbound) they fell a capering and dancing, one taking this thing upon her ſhoulders, and the other that, intimating, that they were willing to do any thing for them. But now, Sir, having women among us, and dreading that it might occaſion ſome ſtriſe, if not blood, I aſked the three men what they would do, and how they intended to uſe theſe creatures, whether as ſervants or women? One of them very pertly and readily anſwered, they would uſe them as both. Gentlemen, ſaid I, as you are your own maſters, I am not going to reſtrain you from that; but, methinks for avoiding diſſentions among you, I would only deſire you to engage, that none of you will take more than one for a woman or wife, and that having taken this one, none elſe ſhould preſume to touch her; for tho' we have not a prieſtly authority to marry you, yet it is but reaſonable, that whoever thus takes a woman, ſhould be obliged to maintain her: ſince nobody has any thing to do with her: and this, indeed, appeared ſo juſt to all preſent, that it was unanimouſly agreed to. The Engliſhmen then aſked my Spaniards, whether they deſigned to take any of them? but they all anſwered, No; ſome declaring they had already wives in Spain: and others that they cared not to join with infidels. On the reverſe, the Engliſhmen took each of them a temporary wife, and ſo ſet up a new method of living. As to Friday's father, the Spaniards, and the three ſavage ſervants we had taken in the late battle, they all lived with me in our ancient caſtle; and indeed we ſupplied the main part of the iſland with food, as neceſſity required. But the moſt remarkable part of the ſtory is, how theſe Engliſhmen, who had been ſo much at variance, ſhould agree about the choice of theſe women; yet they took a way good enough to prevent quarrelling among themſelves. They ſet the five women in one of their huts, and going themſelves to the other, drew lots which ſhould have the firſt choice. Now, he that had the firſt lot went to the hut, and fetched out her he choſe, and it is remarkable, that he took her that was the moſt homely and eldeſt of the number, which made the reſt of the Engliſhmen exceeding merry; the Spaniards themſelves could not but ſmile at it: but, as it happened, the fellow had the beſt thought, in chuſing one fit for application and buſineſs; and indeed ſhe proved the beſt wife of all the parcel.

But when the poor creatures perceived themſelves placed in a row, and ſeparated one by one, they were again ſeized

with an unſpeakable terror, as now thinking they were going to be ſlain in earneſt: and when the Engliſhman came to take the firſt, the reſt ſet up a lamentable cry, claſped their arms around her neck, and hanging about her, took their laſt farewell, as they thought, in ſuch trembling agonies, and affectionate embraces, as would have ſoftened the hardeſt heart in the world, and made the drieſt eyes melt into tears; nor could they be perſuaded, but that they were going to die, till ſuch time as Friday's father made them ſenſible that the Engliſhmen had choſen them for their wives, which ended all their terror and concern upon this occaſion.

"Well, after this, the Engliſhmen went to work, and being aſſiſted by my good natured Spaniards, in a few hours they erected every one of them a new hut or tent, for their ſeparate lodging, ſince thoſe they had already were filled with tools, houſehold ſtuff, and proviſion. They all continued on the north ſhore of the iſland, but ſeparate as before; the three wicked ones pitching farther off, and the two honeſt men nearer our caſtle; ſo that the iſland ſeemed to be peopled in three places, three towns beginning to be built for that purpoſe. And here I cannot but remark, what is very common, that the two honeſt men had the worſt wives (I mean as to induſtry, cleanlineſs, and ingenuity) while the three reprobates enjoyed women of quite contrary qualities.

"But another obſervation I made was, in favour of the two honeſt men, to ſhew what diſparity there is between a diligent application to buſineſs, on the one hand, and a ſlothful, negligent, and idle temper, on the other. Both of them had the ſame parcel of ground laid out, and corn to ſow, ſufficient for them; both did not make the ſame improvements, either in their cultivation or in their planting. The two honeſt men had a multitude of young trees planted about their habitations, ſo that when you approached near them, nothing appeared but a wood, very pleaſing and delightful. Every thing they did proſpered and flouriſhed; their grapes planted in order, ſeemed as though managed in a vineyard, and were infinitely preferable to any of the others. Nor were they wanting to find out a place of retreat, but dug a cave in the moſt retired part of a thick wood, to ſecure their wives and children, with their proviſion and chiefeſt goods, ſurrounded with innumerable ſtakes, and having a moſt ſubtile entrance, in caſe any mi-

chief ſhould happen, either from their fellow countrymen, or the devouring ſavages.

"As to the reprobates, (though I muſt own they were much more civilized than before) inſtead of a delightful wood ſurrounding their dwellings, we found the words of King Solomon to be truly verified; "I went by the vineyard "of the ſlothful, and it was all overgrown with thorns." In many places their crop was obſcured by weeds; the hedges having ſeveral gaps in them, the wild goats had got in, and eaten up the corn, and here and there was a dead buſh, to ſtop thoſe gaps for the preſent, which was no more than ſhutting the ſtable door after the ſteed was ſtolen away. But as to their wives, they (as I obſerved before) were more diligent, and cleanly enough, eſpecially in their victuals, being inſtructed by one of the honeſt men, who had been a cook's mate on board a ſhip: and very well it was ſo; for as he cooked himſelf, his companion and their families lived as well as the idle huſbands, who did nothing but loiter about, fetch turtle's eggs, catch fiſh and birds, and do any thing but work, and lived accordingly; while the diligent lived very handſomely and plentifully, in the moſt comfortable manner.

"And now Sir, I come to lay before your eyes, a ſcene quite different from any thing that ever happened to us before, and perhaps ever befel you in all the time of your reſidence on this iſland. I ſhall inform you of its original in the following manner:

"One morning, Sir, very early, there came five or ſix canoes of Indians on ſhore, indiſputably upon their old cuſtom of devouring their priſoners. All that we had to do upon ſuch an occaſion, was to lie concealed, that they, not having any notice of inhabitants, might depart quietly, after performing their bloody execution: whoever firſt diſcovered the ſavages, was to give notice to all the three plantations to keep within doors, and then a proper ſcout was to be placed to give intelligence of their departure. But, notwithſtanding theſe wiſe meaſures, an unhappy diſaſter diſcovered us to the ſavages, which was like to have cauſed the deſolation of the whole iſland; for, after the ſavages were gone off in their canoes, ſome of my Spaniards and I looking abroad, and being inflamed with a curioſity to ſee what they had been doing, to our great amazement, beheld three ſavages faſt aſleep on the ground, who, either being gorged, could not awake when the others went off,

or having wandered too far into the woods, did not come back in time.

"What to do with them at firſt, we could not tell; as for ſlaves we had enough of them already; and as to killing them, neither Chriſtianity nor humanity would ſuffer us to ſhed the blood of perſons who never did us wrong. We perceived they had no boat left them to tranſport them to their own nation; and that, by letting them wander about, they might diſcover us, and inform the firſt ſavages that ſhould happen to land upon the ſame bloody occaſion, which information might entirely ruin us; and therefore I counſelled my Spaniards to ſecure them, and ſet them about ſome work or other, till we could better diſpoſe of them.

"Hereupon we all went back, and making them awake, took them priſoners. It is impoſſible to expreſs the horror they were in, eſpecially when bound, as thinking they were going to be murdered and eaten, but we ſoon eaſed them of their fear as to that point. We firſt took them to the bower, where the chief of our country work lay, as keeping goats, planting corn, &c. and then carried them to the two Engliſhmen's habitation, to help them in their buſineſs; but happy it was for us all we did not carry them to our caſtle, as by the ſequel will appear. The Engliſhmen, indeed, found them work to do; but whether they did not guard them ſtrictly, or that they thought they could not better themſelves, I cannot tell; but certainly one of them ran away into the woods, and they could not hear of him for a long time after.

Undoubtedly, there was reaſon enough to ſuppoſe he got home in ſome of the canoes, the ſavages returning in about four weeks time, and going off in the ſpace of two days. You may be certain, Sir, this thought could not but terrify us exceedingly, and make us juſtly conclude, that the ſavage would inform his countrymen of our abode in the iſland, how few and weak we were in compariſon to their numbers; and we expected it would not be long before the Engliſhmen would be attacked in their habitations: but the ſavages had not ſeen their places of ſafety in the woods, nor our caſtle, which it was a great happineſs they did not know.

"Nor were we miſtaken in our thoughts upon this occaſion; for, about eight months after this, ſix canoes, with about ten men in each canoe, came ſailing by the north ſide of the iſland, which they were never accuſtomed to do

before, and landed about an hour after ſunriſe, near a mile from the dwelling of the two Engliſhmen, who, it ſeems, had the good fortune to diſcover them about a league off: ſo that it was an hour before they could attain the ſhore, and ſome time longer before they could come at them. And now being confirmed in this opinion, that they were certainly betrayed, they immediately bound the two ſlaves which were left, cauſing two of the three men, whom they brought with the women, and who proved very faithful, to lead them with their wives, and other conveniences, into their retired cave in the wood, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot, till they had further orders. They then opened their fences, where they kept their milch goats, and drove them all out, giving the goats liberty to ramble in the woods, to make the ſavages believe that they were wild ones; but the ſlave had given a truer information, which made them come to the very incloſures. The two frighted men ſent the other ſlave of the three, who had been with them by accident, to alarm the Spaniards, and deſire their aſſiſtance; in the mean time they took their arms and ammunition, and made to the cave where they had ſent their wives, and ſecuring their ſlaves, ſeated themſelves in a private place, from whence they might behold all the actions of the ſavages. Nor had they gone far, when aſcending a riſing ground, they could ſee a little army of Indians approach to their beautiful dwelling, and in a few moments more, perceive the ſame, and their furniture, to their unſpeakable grief, burning in a conſuming flame: and when this was done, they ſpread here and there, ſearching every buſh and place for the people, of whom, it was very evident, they had information. Upon which the two Engliſhmen, not thinking themſelves ſecure where they ſtood, retreated about half a mile higher in the country, rightly concluding, that the farther the ſavages ſtrolled, there would be leſs numbers together: upon which they next took their ſtand by the trunk of an old tree, very hollow and large, whence they reſolved to ſee what would offer; but they had not ſtood long there, before two ſavages came running directly towards them, as though having knowledge of their being there, who ſeemed reſolved to attack them; a little farther were three more, and five more behind them again, all running the ſame way. It cannot be imagined what perplexity the poor men were in at this ſight, thinking that if aſſiſtance did not ſpeedily

come, their cave in the wood would be diſcovered and conſequently all therein loſt: ſo they reſolved to reſiſt them there, and, when overpowered, to aſcend to the top of the trees, when they might defend themſelves as long as their ammunition laſted, and ſell their lives as dear as poſſible to thoſe devouring ſavages. Thus fixed in their reſolution, they next conſidered, whether they ſhould fire at the firſt two, or wait for the three, and ſo take the middle party, by which the two firſt and the five laſt would be ſeparated. In this regulation the two ſavages alſo confirmed them, by turning a little to another part of the wood; but the three, and the five after them, came directly towards the tree. Hereupon they reſolved to take them in a direct line, as they approached nearer, becauſe perhaps the firſt ſhot might hit them all three: and upon this occaſion, the man who was to fire, charged his piece with three or four bullets. And thus while they were waiting, the ſavages came on, one of them was the runaway, who had cauſed all the miſchief: ſo they reſolved he ſhould not eſcape, if they both fired at once. But however, though they did not fire together, they were ready charged; when the firſt that let fly, was too good a markſman to miſs his aim; for he killed the foremoſt outright, the ſecond (who was the runaway Indian) fell on the ground, being ſhot through the body, but not dead, and the third was a little wounded in the ſhoulder, who, ſitting down on the ground, fell a ſcreaming in a moſt fearful manner. The noiſe of the guns, which not only made the moſt reſounding echoes, from one ſide to the other; but raiſed the birds of all ſorts, fluttering with the moſt confuſed noiſe, ſo much terrified the five ſavages behind, that they ſtood ſtill at firſt, like ſo many inanimate images. But when all things were in profound ſilence, they came to the place where their companions lay: and here, not being ſenſible that they were liable to the ſame fate, ſtood over the wounded man, undoubtedly inquiring the occaſion of his ſad calamity; and 'tis as reaſonable to ſuppoſe, he told them, that it came by thunder and lightning from the gods, having never ſeen or heard of a gun before, in the whole courſe of their lives. By this time the Engliſhmen, having loaded their pieces, fired both together a ſecond time, when ſeeing them all fall immediately on the ground, they thought they had killed every creature of them. This made them come up boldly before they had charged their guns, which, indeed, was a

wrong ſtep; for, when they came to the place, they found four alive, two of them very little wounded, and one not at all, which obliged them to fall upon them with their muſkets; they firſt knocked the runaway ſavage on the head, and another that was but a little wounded in the arm, and then put the other languiſhing wretches out of their pain; while he that was not hurt, with bended knees, and uplifted hands, made piteous moans, and ſigns to them to ſpare his life; nor, indeed, were they unmerciful to the poor wretch, but pointed to him to ſit down at the root of a tree hard by; and then, one of the Engliſhmen, with a piece of rope twine he had in his pocket by mere chance, tying his two feet faſt together, and his two hands behind him, they left him there, making all the haſte they could after the other two, fearing they ſhould find out their cave; but though they could not overtake them, they had the ſatisfaction to perceive them at a diſtance, croſs a valley towards the ſea, a quite contrary way to their retreat; upon which they returned to the tree, to look after their priſoner; but when they came there, he was gone, leaving the pieces of rope-yarn, wherewith he was bound, behind him.

"Well, now they were as much concerned as ever, as not knowing how near their enemies might be, or in what numbers. Immediately they repaired to their cave, to ſee if all was well there, and found every thing ſafe except the women, who were frighted upon their huſbands account, whom they now loved entirely. They had not been long here, before ſeven of my Spaniards came to aſſiſt them: while the other ten, their ſervants, and Friday's father, were gone to defend their bower, corn, and cattle, in caſe the ſavages ſhould have rambled ſo far. There accompanied the ſeven Spaniards, one of the three ſavages that had formerly been taken priſoner; and with them alſo, that very Indian whom the Engliſhmen had, a little before, left under the tree; for it ſeems, they paſſed by that way where the ſlaughter was made, and ſo carried along with them that poor wretch that was left bound. But ſo many priſoners now becoming a burthen to us, and fearing the dreadful conſequence of their eſcaping, moſt of the Spaniards and Engliſh urged the abſolute neceſſity there was of killing them for our common preſervation: but, Sir, the authority I bore, as a governor, over-ruled that piece of cruelty; and then I ordered them to be ſent pri-

ſoners to the old cave in the valley, bound hands and feet, with two Spaniards to guard them.

"So much encouraged were the Engliſhmen at the approach of the Spaniards, and ſo great was their fury againſt the ſavages, for deſtroying their habitations, that they had not patience to ſtay any longer; but, taking five Spaniards along with them, armed with four muſkets, a piſtol, and a quarter-ſtaff, away they went in purſuit of their enemies. As they paſſed by the place where the ſavages were ſlain, it was very eaſy to be perceived that more of them had been there, having attempted to carry off their dead bodies, but found it impracticable. From a riſing ground, our party had the mortification to ſee the ſmoke that proceeded from the ruins; when coming farther in ſight of the ſhore, they plainly perceived that the ſavages had embarked in their canoes, and were putting out to ſea. This they were very ſorry for, there being no coming at them to give them a parting ſalute; but, however, they were glad enough to get clear of ſuch unwelcome gueſts.

"Thus the two honeſt, but unfortunate Engliſhmen, being ruined a ſecond time, and their improvements quite deſtroyed, moſt of my good-natured Spaniards helped them to rebuild, and we all aſſiſted them with needful ſupplies; nay, what is more remarkable, their three miſchievous countrymen, when they heard of it, (which was after all theſe diſaſters were over, they living remote eaſtward) very friendly ſympathiſed with them, and worked for them ſeveral days; ſo that in a little, their habitation was rebuilt, their neceſſities ſupplied, and themſelves reſtored to their former tranquility.

"Though the ſavages had nothing to boaſt of in this adventure, (ſeveral canoes being driven aſhore, followed by two drowned creatures, having undoubtedly met with a ſtorm at ſea that very night they departed) yet it was natural to be ſuppoſed, that thoſe whoſe better fortune it was to attain their native ſhore, would inflame their nation to another ruinous attempt, with a greater force, to carry all before them. And, indeed, ſo it happened; for, about ſeven months after, our iſland was invaded with a moſt formidable navy, no leſs than eight and twenty canoes full of ſavages, armed with wooden ſwords, monſtrous clubs, bows and arrows, and ſuch like inſtruments of war, landing at the eaſt ſide of the iſland.

"You may well, Sir, imagine, what conſternation our men were in upon this account, and how ſpeedy they were to execute their reſolution, having only that night's time allowed them. They knew, that ſince they could not withſtand their enemies, concealment was the only way to procure their ſafety; and, therefore, they took down the huts that were built for the two Engliſhmen, and drove their flock of goats, together with their own at the bower, to the old cave at the valley, leaving as little appearance of inhabitants as poſſible; and then poſted themſelves, with all their force, at the plantation of the two men. As they expected, ſo it happened; for, early the next morning, the Indians, leaving their canoes at the eaſt end of the iſland, came running along the ſhore, about two hundred and fifty in number, as near as could be gueſſed. Our army was but little indeed; and what was our greateſt misfortune, we had not arms ſufficient for them. The account, as to the men, Sir, is as follows: viz. 17 Spaniards, 5 Engliſhmen, Old Friday, the three ſavages, taken with the women, who proved faithful ſervants, and three other ſlaves, living with the Spaniards.—To arm theſe they had 11 muſkets, 5 piſtols, 3 fowling-pieces, 2 ſwords, 3 old halberts, 5 muſkets, or fowling-pieces, taken from the ſailors whom you reduced.—As to the ſlaves, we gave three of them halberts, and the other three long ſtaves, with great iron ſpikes at the end of them, with hatchets by their ſides; we alſo had hatchets ſticking in our girdles, beſides the fire-arms: nay, two of the women, inſpired with Amazonian fortitude, could not be diſſuaded from fighting along with their deareſt huſbands, and if they died, to die with them. Seeing their reſolution, we gave them hatchets likewiſe; but what pleaſed them beſt, were the bows and arrows (which they dexterouſly knew how to uſe) that the Indians had left behind them, after their memorable battle one againſt another.

"Over this army, which, though little, was of great intrepidity, I was conſtituted chief general and commander; and knowing Will Atkins, though exceeding wicked, yet a man of invincible courage, I gave him the power of commanding under me; he and ſix men with their muſkets loaded, with ſix or ſeven bullets a piece, were planted juſt behind a ſmall thicket of buſhes, as an advanced guard, having orders to let the firſt paſs by; and then, when he fired into the middle of them, make a nimble retreat

round a part of the wood, and ſo come in the rear of the Spaniards, who were ſhaded by a thicket of trees: for though the ſavages came on with the fierceneſs of lions, yet they wanted the ſubtilty of foxes, being out of all manner of order, and ſtraggling in heaps every way; and, indeed, when Will Atkins, after fifty of the ſavages had paſſed by, had ordered three of his men to give fire, ſo great was their conſternation, to ſee ſo many men killed and wounded, and hear ſuch a dreadful noiſe, and yet not know whence it came, that they were frightened to the higheſt degree; and when the ſecond volley was given, they concluded no leſs but that their companions were ſlain by thunder and lightning from heaven. In this notion they would have continued, had Will Atkins and his men retired, as ſoon as they fired, according to order: or had the reſt been near them, to pour in their ſhot continually, there might have been a complete victory obtained; but ſtaying to load their pieces again, diſcovered the whole matter. They were perceived by ſome of the ſcattering ſavages at a diſtance, who let fly their arrows among them, wounded Atkins himſelf, and killed his fellow Engliſhman, and one of the Indians taken with the women. Our party did not fail to anſwer them, and in their retreat killed about twenty ſavages. Here I cannot but take notice of our poor dying ſlave, who, though ſtopt from his retreat by a fatal arrow, yet with his ſtaff and hatchet, deſperately and gallantly aſſailed his purſuers, and killed five of the ſavages, before his life ſubmitted to a multiplicity of wounds. Nor is the cruelty or malice of the Indians to be leſs remarked, in breaking the arms, legs, and heads of the two dead bodies with their clubs and wooden ſwords, after a moſt wretched manner. As Atkins retreated, our party advanced, to interpoſe between him and the ſavages; but, after three vollies, we were obliged to retreat alſo; for they were ſo numerous and deſperate, that they came up to our very teeth, ſhot their arrows like a cloud, and their wounded men, enraged with cruel pain, fought like madmen. They did not, however, think fit to follow us, but drawing themſelves up in a circle, they gave two triumphant ſhouts in token of victory, though they had the grief to ſee ſeveral of their wounded men bleed to death before them.

After I had, Sir, drawn up our little army together upon a riſing ground, Atkins, wounded as he was, would

have had us attack the whole body of the ſavages at once I was extremely well pleaſed with the gallantry of the man: but, upon conſideration, I replied, "You perceive, "Seignior Atkins, how their wounded men fight; let "them alone till morning, when they will be faint, ſtiff "and ſore, and then we ſhall have fewer to combat with." To which Will Atkins ſmiling, replied, "That's very "true, Seignior, ſo ſhall I too; and that's the reaſon I "would fight them now I am warm." We all anſwered, Seignior Atkins, for your part, you have behaved very gallantly; and, if you are not able to approach the enemy in the morning, we will fight for you, till then we think it convenient to wait, and ſo we tarried.

"By the brightneſs of the moon that night, we perceived the ſavages in great diſorder about their dead and wounded men. This made us change our reſolution, and reſolve to fall upon them in the night, if we could give them one volley undiſcovered. This we had a fair opportunity to do, by one of the two Engliſhmen leading us round, between the woods and the ſea-ſide weſtward, and turning ſhort ſouth, came privately to a place where the thickeſt of them were. Unheard and unperceived, eight of us fired among them, and did dreadful execution; and in half a minute after, eight more of us let fly, killing and wounding abundance of them; and then dividing ourſelves into three bodies, eight perſons in each body, we marched from among the trees, to the very teeth of the enemy, ſending forth the greateſt ſhouts and acclamations. The ſavages hearing a different noiſe from three quarters at once, ſtood in the utmoſt confuſion; but coming in ſight of us, let fly a volley of arrows, which wounded poor old Friday, yet happily it did not prove mortal. We did not, however, give them a ſecond opportunity; but ruſhing in among them, we fired three ſeveral ways, and then fell to work with our ſwords, ſtaves, hatchets, and the butt-end of our muſquets, with a fury not to be reſiſted; ſo that, with the moſt diſmal ſcreaming and howling, they had recourſe to their feet, to ſave their lives by a ſpeedy flight. Nor muſt we forget the valour of the two women; for they expoſed themſelves to the greateſt dangers, killed many with their arrows, and valiantly deſtroyed ſeveral more with their hatchets.

"In fighting theſe two battles, we were ſo much tired, that we did not then trouble ourſelves to purſue them to their canoes, in which we thought they would preſently

put to the ocean; but there happening a dreadful ſtorm at ſea, which continuing all that night, it not only prevented their voyage, but daſhed ſeveral of their boats to pieces againſt the beach, and drove the reſt ſo high upon the ſhore, that it required infinite pains to get them off. After our men had taken ſome refreſhment and a little repoſe, they reſolved early in the morning to go towards the place of their landing, and ſee whether they were gone off, or in what poſture they remained. This neceſſarily led them to the place of battle, where ſeveral of the ſavages were expiring, a ſight no way pleaſing to generous minds, to delight in miſery, though obliged to conquer them by the law of arms; but our own Indian ſlaves put them out of their pain, by diſpatching them with their hatchets. At length, coming in view of the remainder of the army, we found them leaning upon their knees, which were bended towards their mouth, and the head between the two hands. Hereupon, coming within muſket-ſhot of them, I ordered two pieces to be fired without ball, in order to alarm them, that we might plainly know, whether they had the courage to venture another battle, or were utterly diſpirited from ſuch an attempt, that ſo we might accordingly manage them. And, indeed, the project took very well; for, no ſooner did the ſavages hear the firſt gun, and perceive the flaſh of the ſecond, but they ſuddenly ſtarted upon their feet, in the greateſt conſternation; and when we approached towards them, they ran howling and ſcreaming away up the hill into the country.

"We could rather, at firſt, have wiſhed, that the weather had permitted them to have gone off to the ſea; but when we conſidered, that their eſcape might occaſion the approach of multitudes, to our utter ruin and diſſolution, we were very well pleaſed the contrary happened: and Will Atkins (who, though wounded, would not part from us all this while) adviſed us not to let ſlip this advantage, but clapping between them and their boats, deprive them of the capacity of ever returning to plague the iſland: "I know," ſaid he, "there is but one objection you can "make, which is, that theſe creatures, living like beaſts in "the wood, may make excurſions, rifle the plantations, "and deſtroy the tame goats; but then conſider, we had "better to do with an hundred men, whom we can kill, "or make ſlaves of, at leiſure, than with an hundred na-"tions, whom it is impoſſible we ſhould ſave ourſelves

"from, much leſs ſubdue." This advice, and theſe arguments being approved of, we ſet fire to their boats; and though they were ſo wet that we could not burn them entirely, yet we made them incapable for ſwimming in the ſeas. As ſoon as the Indians perceived what we were doing, many of them ran out of the woods, in ſight of us, and kneeling down, pitiouſly cried out, *Oa, Oa, Waramakoa*, intimating, I ſuppoſe, that, if we would but ſpare their canoes, they would never trouble us again.

"But all their complaints, ſubmiſſions, and entreaties, were in vain; for ſelf preſervation obliging us to the contrary, we deſtroyed every one of them that had eſcaped the fury of the ocean. When the Indians perceived this, they raiſed a lamentable cry, and ran into the woods, where they continued ranging about, making the woods ring with their lamentation. Here we ſhould have conſidered, that making theſe creatures thus deſperate, we ought, at the ſame time, to have ſet a ſufficient guard upon the plantations: for the ſavages, in their ranging about, found out the bower, deſtroyed the fences, trod the corn down under their feet, and tore up the vines and grapes. It is true, we were always able to fight theſe creatures; but, as they were too ſwift for us, and very numerous, we durſt not go out ſingle, for fear of them; though that too was needleſs, they having no weapons, nor any materials to make them; and, indeed, their extremity appeared in a little time after.

"Though the ſavages, as already mentioned, had deſtroyed our bower, and all our corn, grapes, &c. yet we had ſtill left our ſtock of cattle in the valley by the cave, with ſome little corn that grew there, and the plantation of Will Atkins and his companions, one of whom being killed with an arrow, they were now reduced to two: it is remarkable that this was the fellow who cut the poor Indian with his hatchet, and had a deſign to murder me and my countrymen the Spaniards. As our condition was ſo low, we came to the reſolution to drive the ſavages up to the farther part of the iſland, where no Indians landed; to kill as many of them as we could, till we had reduced their number; and then to give the remainder ſome corn to plant, and to teach them how to live by their daily labour. Accordingly, we purſued them with our guns, at the hearing of which they were ſo terrified, that they would fall to the ground. Every day we killed and wounded ſome of

them, and many we found ſtarved to death, ſo that our hearts began to relent at the ſight of ſuch miſerable objects. At laſt, with great difficulty, taking one of them alive, and uſing him with kindneſs and tenderneſs, we brought him to old Friday, who talked to him, and told him, how good we would be to them all, giving them corn and land to plant and live in, and preſent nouriſhment, provided they would keep within ſuch bounds as ſhould be allotted them, and not do prejudice to others: "Go then," ſaid he, "and inform your countrymen of this; which, if they will not agree to, every one of them ſhall be ſlain."

"The poor creatures, thoroughly humbled, being reduced to about thirty-ſeven, joyfully accepted the offer, and earneſtly begged for food; hereupon we ſent twelve Spaniards and two Engliſhmen, well armed, together with old Friday, and three Indian ſlaves were loaded with a large quantity of bread, and rice cakes, with three live goats: and the poor Indians being ordered to ſit down on the ſide of the hill, they ate the victuals very thankfully, and have proved faithful to the laſt, never treſpaſſing beyond their bounds, where, at this day, they quietly and happily remain, and where we now and then viſit them. They are confined to a neck of land about a mile and a half broad, and three or four in length, on the ſouth-eaſt corner of the iſland, the ſea being before, and lofty mountains behind them, free from the appearance of canoes: and indeed their countrymen never made any inquiry after them. We gave them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives; have taught them to build huts, make wooden ſpades, plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats, and milk them, as likewiſe to make wicker-work, in which, I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, they infinitely outdo us, having made themſelves ſeveral pretty neceſſaries and fancies, as baſkets, ſieves, bird cages, and cupboards, as alſo ſtools, beds, and couches, no leſs uſeful than delightful; and now they live the moſt innocent and inoffenſive creatures that ever were ſubdued in the world, wanting nothing but wives to make them a nation.

"Thus, kind Sir, have I given you, according to my ability, an impartial account of the various tranſactions that have happened in the iſland ſince your departure, to this day; and we have great reaſon to acknowledge the kind providence of heaven in our merciful deliverance.

When you inſpect your little kingdom, you will find in it ſome little improvement, your flocks increaſed, and your ſubjects augmented: ſo that from a deſolate iſland, as this was before your wonderful deliverance upon it, here is a viſible proſpect of its becoming a populous and well governed little kingdom, to your immortal fame and glory."

There is no doubt to ſuppoſe but that the preceding relation of my faithful Spaniard was very agreeable, and no leſs ſurpriſing to me, to the young prieſt, and to all who heard it: nor were theſe people leſs pleaſed with thoſe neceſſary utenſils that I brought them, ſuch as the knives, ſciſſars, ſpades, ſhovels, and pickaxes, with which they now adorn their habitations.

So much had they addicted themſelves to wicker-work, prompted by the ingenuity of the Indians, who aſſiſted them, that when I viewed the Engliſhmen's colonies, they ſeemed at a diſtance as though they had lived like bees in a hive: for Will Atkins who was now become a very induſtrious and ſober man, had made himſelf a tent of baſket-work round the outſide; the walls were worked in as a baſket, in pannels or ſtrong ſquares of thirty-two in number, ſtanding about ſeven feet high: in the middle was another, not above twenty two paces round, but much ſtronger built, being of an octoganal form, and in the eight corners ſtood eight ſtrong poſts, round the top of which he laid ſtrong pieces, pinned with wooden pins, from which he raiſed a pyramid for the roof, mighty pretty, I aſſure you, and joined very well together with iron ſpikes, which he m: . himſelf; for he had made him a forge, with a pair of wooden bellows and charcoal for his work, forming an anvil out of one of the iron crows, to work upon, and in this manner would he make himſelf hooks, ſtaples, ſpikes, bolts, and hinges. After he had pitched the roof of his innermoſt tent, he made it ſo firm between the rafters with baſket-work, thatch ng that over again with rice-ſtraw, and over that a large leaf of a tree, that his houſe was as dry as if it had been tiled or ſlated. The outer circuit was covered as a lean to quite round this inner apartment, laying long rafters from the thirty-two angles to the top poſts of the inner houſe, about twenty feet diſtant: ſo that there was a ſpace like a wall between the outer and inner wall, near twenty feet in breadth. The inner place he partitioned off with the ſame wicker work, dividing it in-

to ſix neat apartments, every one of which had a door, firſt into the entry of the main tent, and another into the ſpace and walk that was round it, not only convenient for retreat, but for family neceſſaries. Within the door of the outer circle, there was a paſſage directly to the door of the inner houſe; on either ſide was a wicker partition, and a door, by which you go into a room twenty-two feet wide, and about thirty long, and through that into another of a ſmaller length, ſo that in the outer circle were ten handſome rooms, ſix of which were only to be come at through the apartments of the inner tent, ſerving as retiring rooms to the reſpective chambers of the inner circle, and four large warehouſes, which went in through one another, two on either hand of the paſſage that led through the outer door to the inner tent. In ſhort, nothing could be built more ingeniouſly, kept more neat, or have better conveniencies; and here lived the three families, Will Atkins, his companion, their wives and children, and the widow of the deceaſed. As to religion, the men ſeldom taught their wives the knowledge of God, any more than the ſailors' cuſtom of ſwearing by his name. The greateſt improvement their wives had, was, they taught them to ſpeak Engliſh, ſo as to be underſtood.

None of their children were then above ſix years old; they were all fruitful enough; and, I think, the cook's mate's wife was big of her ſixth child.

When I inquired of the Spaniards about their circumſtances while among the ſavages, they told me, that they abandoned themſelves to deſpair, reckoning themſelves a poor and miſerable people, that had no r- ans put into their hands, and conſequently muſt ſoon be ſtarved to death. They owned, however, that they were in the wrong to think ſo, and for refuſing the aſſiſtance that reaſon offered for their ſupport, as well as future deliverance, confeſſing that grief was a moſt inſignificant paſſion, as it looked upon things as without remedy, and having no hope of things to come, all which verified this noted proverb,

> In trouble to be troubled,
> Is to have your trouble doubled.

Nor did his remarks end here; for, making obſervation upon my improvements, and on my condition at firſt,

infinitely worſe than theirs, he told me, that Engliſhmen had, in their diſtreſs, greater preſence of mind than thoſe of any other country that he had met with; and that they and the Portugueſe were the worſt men in the world to ſtruggle under misfortunes. When they landed among the ſavages, they found but little proviſion except they would turn cannibals, there being but a few roots and herbs, with little ſubſtance in them, and of which the natives gave them but very ſparingly. Many were the ways they took to civilize and teach the ſavages, but in vain: for they would not own them to be their inſtructors, whoſe lives were owing to their bounty. Their extremities were very great, many days being entirely without food, the ſavages there being more indolent and leſs devouring than thoſe who had better ſupplies. When they went out to battle, they were obliged to aſſiſt theſe people, in one of which my faithful Spaniard being taken, had like to have been devoured. They had loſt their ammunition, which rendered their fire arms uſeleſs; nor could they uſe the bows and arrows that were given them, ſo that while the armies were at a diſtance, they had no chance, but when cloſe, then they could be of ſervice with halberts, and ſharpened ſticks put into the muzzles of their muſkets. They made themſelves targets of wood, covered with the ſkins of wild beaſts; and when one happened to be knocked down, the reſt of the company fought over him till he recovered: and then ſtanding cloſe in a line, they would make their way through a thouſand ſavages. At the return of their friend who they thought had been entombed in the bowels of their enemies, their joy was inconceivable. Nor were they leſs ſurprized at the ſight of the loaves of bread I had ſent them, things that they had not ſeen for ſeveral years, at the ſame time croſſing and bleſſing it, as though it was manna ſent from heaven: but when they knew the errand, and perceived the boat which was to carry them to the perſon and place from whence ſuch relief came, this ſtruck them with ſuch a ſurprize of joy as made ſome of them faint away, and others burſt out into tears.

This was the ſummary account that I had from them. I ſhall now inform the reader what I next did for them, and in what condition I left them. As we were all of opinion that the ſavages would ſcarce trouble them any more, ſo we had no apprehenſions on that ſcorce. I told

them I was come purely to eſtabliſh, and not to remove them; and upon that occaſion, had not only brought them neceſſaries for convenience and defence, but alſo artificers, and other perſons, both for their neceſſary employments, and to add to their number, they were all together when I thus talked to them; and before I delivered to them the ſtores I brought, I aſked them one by one, if they had entirely forgot their firſt animoſities, would engage in the ſtricteſt friendſhip, and ſhake hands with one another? On this Will Atkins, with abundance of good humour, ſaid, they had afflictions enough to make them all ſober, and enemies enough to make them all friends: as for himſelf, he would live and die among them, owning, that what the Spaniards had done to him, his own mad humour had made neceſſary for them to do. Nor had the Spaniards occaſion to juſtify their proceedings to me; but they told me, that, ſince Will Atkins had behaved himſelf ſo valiantly in fight, and at other times ſhewed ſuch a regard to the common intereſt of them all, they had not only forgotten all that was paſt, but thought he ought as much to be truſted with arms and neceſſaries as any of them, which they teſtified by making him next in command to the governor: and they moſt heartily embraced the occaſion of giving me this ſolemn aſſurance, that they would never ſeparate their intereſt again as long as they lived.

After theſe kind declarations of friendſhip, we appointed all of us to dine together the next day; upon this I cauſed the ſhip's cook and his mate to come on ſhore for that purpoſe, to aſſiſt in dreſſing our dinner. We brought from the ſhip ſix pieces of beer, and four of pork, together with our punch bowl, and materials to fill it; and in particular I gave them ten bottles of French claret, and ten of Engliſh beer, which was very acceptable to them. The Spaniards added to our feaſt five whole kids, which being roaſted, three of them were ſent as freſh meat to the ſailors on board, and the other two we ate ourſelves. After our merry and innocent feaſt was over, I began to diſtribute my cargo among them. Firſt, I gave them linen ſufficient to make every one of them four ſhirts, and at the Spaniard's requeſt made them up ſix. The thin Engliſh ſtuffs I allotted to make every one a light coat like a frock, agreeable to the climate, and left them ſuch a quantity, as to make more upon their decay: as alſo pumps, ſhoes, hats, and ſtockings. It is not to be expreſſed the pleaſing

ſatisfaction which ſat upon the countenances of theſe poor men, when they perceived what care I took of them, as if I had been a common father to them all: and they all engaged never to leave the iſland, till I gave my conſent for their departure. I then preſented to them the people I brought, to wit, the tailor, ſmith, and the two carpenters; but my Jack of all trades was the moſt acceptable preſent I could make them. My tailor fell immediately to work, and made every one of them a ſhirt; after which, he learned the women how to ſew and ſtitch, thereby to become the more helpful to their huſbands. Neither were the carpenters leſs uſeful, taking in pieces their clumſey things, inſtead of which, they made convenient and handſome tables, ſtools, bedſteads, cupboards, lockers and ſhelves. But when I carried them to ſee Will Atkin's baſket-houſe, they owned they never ſaw ſuch a piece of natural ingenuity before: "I am ſure," ſaid one of the carpenters, "the man that built this has no need of us: "you need, Sir, do nothing but give him tools."

I divided the tools among them in this manner: to every man I gave a digging ſpade, a ſhovel and a rake, as having no harrows or ploughs; and to every ſeparate place a pick axe, a crow, a broad axe, and a ſaw, with a ſtore for a general ſupply ſhould any be broken or worn out. I left them alſo nails, ſtaples, hinges, hammers, chiſſels, knives, ſciſſars, and all ſorts of tools and iron work; and for the uſe of the ſmith, gave them three tons of unwrought iron for a ſupply: and as to arms and ammunition, I ſtored them even to profuſion: or, at leaſt, to equip a ſufficient little army againſt all oppoſers whatſoever.

The young man (whoſe mother was unfortunately ſtarved to death) together with the maid, a pious and well educated young woman, ſeeing things ſo well ordered on ſhore (for I made them accompany me) and conſidering they had no occaſion to go ſo far a voyage as to the Eaſt-Indies, they both deſired of me, that I would leave them there, and enter them among my ſubjects. This I readily agreed to, ordering them a plat of ground, on which were three little houſes erected, environed with baſket work, palliſadoed like Atkins's, and adjoining to his plantation. So contrived were their tents, that each of them had a room apart to lodge in, while the middle tent was not only their ſtore houſe, but their place for eating and drinking. At this time the two Engliſhmen removed their habitation to

their former place; ſo that now the iſland was divided into three colonies; Firſt, Thoſe I have juſt now mentioned; Secondly, That of Will Atkins, where there were four families of Engliſhmen, with their wives and children, the widow and her children: the young man and the maid, who, by the way, we made a wife of before our departure; three ſavages, who were ſlaves; the tailor, ſmith, (who ſerved alſo as a gunſmith) and my other celebrated perſon called *Jack of all trades*. Thirdly, my chief colony, which conſiſted of the Spaniards, with old Friday, who ſtill remained at my old habitation, which was my capital city: and ſurely never was there ſuch a metropolis, it now being hid in ſo obſcure a grove, that a thouſand men might have ranged the iſland a month, and looked purpoſely for it, without being able to find it, though the Spaniards had enlarged its boundaries, both without and within, in a moſt ſurpriſing manner.

But now I think it high time to ſpeak of the young French prieſt of the order of St. Benedict, whoſe judicious and pious diſcourſes, upon ſundry occaſions, merit an extraordinary obſervation; nor can his being a French Papiſt prieſt, I preſume, give offence to any of my readers, when they have this aſſurance from me, that he was a perſon of the moſt courteous diſpoſition, extenſive charity, and exalted piety. His arguments were always agreeable to reaſon, and his converſation the moſt acceptable of any perſon that I had ever yet met with in my life.

"Sir," ſaid he to me one day, "ſince, under God," at the ſame time croſſing his breaſt "you have not only "ſaved my life; but, by permitting me to go this voy- "age, have granted me the happineſs of free converſa- "tion, I think it my duty, as my profeſſion obliges me, to "ſave what ſouls I can, by bringing them to the know- "ledge of ſome Catholic doctrine, neceſſary to ſalvation; "and, ſince theſe people are under your immediate go- "vernment, in gratitude, juſtice, and decency for what "you have done for me, I ſhall offer no farther points in "religion, than what ſhall merit your approbation." Being pleaſed with the modeſty of his carriage, I told him he ſhould not be worſe uſed for being of a different perſuaſion, if, upon that very account, we did not differ in points of faith, not decent in a part of the country, where the poor Indians ought to be inſtructed in the knowledge of the true God, and his ſon Jeſus Chriſt. To this he

replied, that converſation might eaſily be ſeparated from diſputes; that he would diſcourſe with me rather as a gentleman than a religious; but that, if we did enter upon religious arguments, upon my deſiring the ſame, I would give him liberty to defend his own principles. He farther added, that he would do all that became him in his office, as a prieſt as well as a Chriſtian, to procure the happineſs of all that were in the ſhip: that though he could not pray with, he would pray for us, on all occaſions; and then he told me ſeveral extraordinary events of his life, within a few years paſt; but particularly in this laſt, which was the moſt remarkable: that, in this voyage, he had the misfortune to be five times ſhipped and unſhipped: his firſt deſign was to have gone to Martinico: for which, taking ſhip at St. Malo, he was forced into Liſbon by bad weather, the veſſel running aground in the mouth of the Tagus: that from thence he went on board a Portugueſe ſhip, bound to the Madeiras, whoſe maſter being but an indifferent mariner, and out of his reckoning, they were drove to Fial, where ſelling their commodity, which was corn, they reſolved to take in their loading at the Iſle of May, and to ſail to Newfoundland; at the banks of which, meeting a French ſhip bound to Quebec, in the river of Canada, and from thence to Martinico, in this ſhip he embarked; the maſter of which dying at Quebec, that voyage was ſuſpended; and laſtly, ſhipping himſelf for France, this laſt ſhip was deſtroyed by fire, as before has been related.

At this time we talked no further; but another morning he comes to me, juſt as I was going to viſit the Engliſhmen's colony, and tells me, that as he knew the proſperity of the iſland was my principal deſire, he had ſomething to communicate agreeable to my deſign, by which perhaps he might put it, more than he yet thought it was, in the way of the benediction of heaven. How, Sir? ſaid I, in a ſurpriſe, are we not yet in the way of God's bleſſing, after all theſe ſignal providences and deliverances, of which you have had ſuch an ample relation? He replied, I hope, Sir, you are in the way, and that your good deſign will proſper: but ſtill there are ſome among you that are not equally right in their actions; and remember, I beſeech you, Sir, that Achan, by his crime, removed God's bleſſing from the camp of the children of Iſrael; that though ſix and thirty were entirely innocent, yet they

became the objects of divine vengeance, and bore the weight of the puniſhment accordingly.

So ſenſibly was I touched with this diſcourſe, and ſo ſatisfied with that ardent piety that inflamed his ſoul, that I deſired him to accompany me to the Engliſhmen's plantations, which he was very glad of, by reaſon they were the ſubject of what he deſigned to diſcourſe with me about: and while we walked on together, he began in the following manner:

"Sir, ſaid he, I muſt confeſs it is a great unhappineſs that we diſagree in ſeveral doctrinal articles of religion; but, ſurely both of us acknowledge this, that there is a God, who having given us ſome ſtated rules for our ſervice and obedience, we ought not willingly and knowingly to offend him, either by neglecting what he has commanded, or by doing what he has forbidden. This truth every Chriſtian owns, that when any one preſumptuouſly ſins againſt God's command, the Almighty then withdraws his bleſſing from him; every good man therefore ought certainly to prevent ſuch neglect of, or ſin againſt God and his commands. I thanked the young prieſt for expreſſing ſo great a concern for us, and deſired him to explain the particulars of what he had obſerved, that, according to the parable of Achan, I might "remove the accurſed thing from among us." Why then, Sir, ſaid he, in the firſt place, you have four Engliſhmen, who have taken ſavage women to their wives, by whom they have ſeveral children, though none of them are legally married, as the law of God and man requires; they, I ſay, Sir, are no leſs than adulterers, and as they ſtill live in adultery, are liable to the curſe of God. I know, Sir, you may object the want of a prieſt, or clergyman of any kind; as alſo, pen, ink, and paper, to write down a contract of marriage, and have it ſigned between them. But neither this, nor what the Spaniſh governor has told you of their chuſing by conſent, can be reckoned a marriage, nor any more than an agreement to keep them from quarrelling among themſelves; for, Sir, the eſſence or ſacrament of matrimony (ſo he called it) not only conſiſts in mutual conſent, but in the legal obligation, which compels them to own and acknowledge one another, to abſtain from other perſons, the men to provide for their wives and children, and the women to the ſame and like conditions, *mutatis, mutandis*, on their ſide: whereas, Sir, theſe men,

upon their own pleaſure, on any occaſion, may forſake thoſe women, and marry others, and by diſowning their children, ſuffer them utterly to periſh." "Now, Sir," added he, "can God be honoured in ſuch an unlawful liberty as this? how can a bleſſing ſucceed the beſt endeavours, if men are allowed to live in ſo licentious a way? I was indeed ſtruck with the thing myſelf, and thought that they were much to blame, that no formal contract had been made, though it had been but breaking a ſtick between them, to engage them to live as man and wife, never to ſeparate, but love, cheriſh, and comfort one another all their lives; "yet, Sir," ſaid I, "when they took theſe women, I was not here, and if it is adultery, it is paſt my remedy, and I cannot help it." "True, Sir," anſwered the young prieſt, "you cannot be charged with that part of the crime which was done in your abſence: but I beſeech you, don't flatter yourſelf, that your are under no obligation now to put a period to it: which if you neglect to do, the guilt will be entirely on you alone, ſince it is certainly in nobody's power but yours, to alter their condition." I muſt confeſs, I was ſo dull, that I thought he meant I ſhould part them, and knowing that this would put the whole iſland in confuſion, I told him I could not conſent to it upon any account whatſoever. "Sir," ſaid he, in a great ſurpriſe, "I do not mean that you ſhould ſeparate, but marry them, by a written contract, ſigned by both man and woman, and by all the witneſſes preſent, which all the European laws decree to be of ſufficient efficacy." Amazed with ſuch true piety and ſincerity, and conſidering the validity of a written contract, I acknowledged all that he ſaid to be very juſt and kind; and that I would diſcourſe with the men about it; neither could I ſee what reaſon they could have not to let him marry them, whoſe authority in that affair is owned to be as authentic as if they were married by any of our clergymen in England.

The next complaint he had to make to me was this, that though theſe Engliſh ſubjects of mine had lived with theſe women ſeven years, and though they were of good underſtanding, and capable of inſtruction, having learned not only to ſpeak, but to read Engliſh, yet all this while they had never taught them any thing of the Chriſtian religion, or the knowledge of God, much leſs in what manner he ought to be ſerved. "And is not this an unaccount-

able neglect?" ſaid he warmly. "Depend upon it, God Almighty will call them to account for ſuch contempt. And though I am not of your religion, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee theſe people releaſed from the devil's power, and be ſaved by the principles of the Chriſtian religion, the knowledge of God, of a Redeemer, the reſurrection, and of a future ſtate. But as it is not too late, if you pleaſe to give me leave to inſtruct them, I doubt not but I ſhall ſupply this great defect, by bringing them into the great circle of Chriſtianity, even while you continue in the iſland."

I could hold no longer, but embracing him, told him, with a thouſand thanks, I would grant whatever he requeſted, and deſired him to proceed in the third article, which he did in the following manner:

"Sir," ſaid he, "it ſhould be a maxim among all Chriſtians, that Chriſtian knowledge ought to be propagated by all poſſible means, and on all occaſions. Upon this account our church ſends miſſionaries into Perſia, India, and China, men who are willing to die for the ſake of God and the Chriſtian faith, in order to bring poor infidels into the way of ſalvation. Now, Sir, as here is an opportunity to convert ſeven and thirty poor ſavages, I wonder how you can paſs by ſuch an occaſion of doing good, which is really worth the expence of a man's whole life."

I muſt confeſs I was ſo confounded at this diſcourſe, that I could not tell how to anſwer him. "Sir," ſaid he, ſeeing me in diſorder, "I ſhall be very ſorry if I have given you offence." "No, Sir," ſaid I, "I am rather confounded; and you know my circumſtances, that being bound to the Eaſt Indies in a merchant ſhip, I cannot wrong the owners ſo much, as to detain the ſhip here, the men lying at victuals and wages on their account. If I ſtay above twelve days, I muſt pay 3l. ſterling *per diem* demurrage, nor muſt the ſhip ſtay above eight days more; ſo that I am unable to engage in this work, unleſs I would leave the ſhip, and be reduced to my former condition." The prieſt, though he owned this was hard upon me, yet laid it to my conſcience, whether the bleſſing of ſaving ſeven and thirty ſouls was not worth venturing all that I had in the world?" Sir, ſaid I, "it is very true: but as you are an eccleſiaſtic, it naturally falls into your profeſſion; why, therefore, don't you rather offer to undertake it yourſelf,

than preſs me to it?" Upon this he turned about, making a very low bow, I moſt humbly thank God and you, Sir, ſaid he, for ſo bleſſed a call: and moſt willingly undertake ſo glorious an office, which will ſufficiently compenſate all the hazards and difficulties I have gone through in a long and uncomfortable voyage."

While he was thus ſpeaking, I could diſcover a rapture in his face, by his colour going and coming; at the ſame time his eyes ſparkled like fire, with all the ſigns of the moſt zealous tranſports. And when I aſked whether he was in earneſt? "Sir," ſaid he, "it was to preach to the Indians, I contented to come along with you: theſe infidels, even in this little iſland, are infinitely of more worth than my poor life; if ſo that I ſhould prove the happy inſtrument of ſaving theſe poor creatures' ſouls, I care not if I never ſee my native country again. One thing I only beg of you more, is, that you would leave Friday with me, to be my interpreter, without whoſe aſſiſtance neither of us will underſtand each other."

This requeſt very ſenſibly troubled me: firſt, upon Friday's being bred a Proteſtant; and, ſecondly, for the affection I bore to him for his fidelity: But, immediately the remembrance of Friday's father coming into my head, I recommended him to him as having learned Spaniſh, which the prieſt alſo underſtood: and ſo was thoroughly ſatisfied with him.

When we came to the Engliſhmen, after I had told them what neceſſary things I had done for them, I talked to them of the ſcandalous life they led, told them what notice the clergyman had taken of it, and aſked them if they were married men or bachelors? They anſwered, two of them were widowers, and the other three ſingle me. But, ſaid I, with what conſcience can you call theſe your wives, by whom you have ſo many children, and yet are not lawfully married? They all ſaid, that they took them before the governor as ſuch, having nobody elſe to marry them, which they thought as legal, as if they had had a parſon. No doubt, ſaid I, but in the eye of God it is ſo: but unleſs I am aſſured of your honeſt intent, never to deſert theſe poor creatures, I can do nothing more for you, neither can you expect God's bleſſing while you live in ſuch an open courſe of adultery. Hereupon, Will Atkins, who ſpoke for the reſt, told me, That they believed their wives the moſt innocent and virtuous creatures in the world; that

they would never forſake them while they had breath; and that, if there was a clergyman in the ſhip, they would be married to them with all their hearts. I told you before, ſaid I, that I have miniſter with me, who ſhall marry you to-morrow morning, if you are willing; ſo I would have you conſult to-night, with the reſt, about it. I told him the clergyman was a Frenchman, and knew not a word of Engliſh, but that I would act as a clerk between them. And indeed this buſineſs met with ſuch ſpeedy ſucceſs, that they all told me, in a few minutes after, that they were ready to be formally married, as ſoon as I pleaſed; with which informing the prieſt, he was exceedingly rejoiced.

Nothing now remained, but that the women ſhould be made ſenſible of the meaning of the thing; with which being well ſatisfied, they with their huſbands, attended at my apartment the next morning; there was my prieſt, habited in a black veſt, ſomething like a caſſock, with a ſaſh round it, much reſembling a miniſter, and I was his interpreter. But the ſerioufneſs of his behaviour, and the ſcruples he made of marrying the women, who were not baptized, gave them an exceeding reverence for his perſon: nor indeed would he marry them at all, till he obtained my liberty to diſcourſe both with the men and women, and then he told them, That in the ſight of all indifferent men, and in the ſenſe of the laws of ſociety, they had lived in open adultery, which nothing now, but their conſent to marry, or final ſeparation, could put an end to; and even here was a difficulty with reſpect to the laws of Chriſtian matrimony, in marrying a profeſſed Chriſtian to a heathen idolater, unbaptized; but yet there was time enough to make them profeſs the name of Chriſt, without which nothing could be done; that, beſides, he believed themſelves very indifferent Chriſtians; and conſequently had not diſcourſed with their wives upon that ſubject; and that unleſs they promiſed him to do ſo, he could not marry them, as being expreſsly forbidden by the laws of God.

All this they heard attentively, and owned readily.

"But, Lord, Sir," ſaid Will Atkins to me, "how ſhould we teach them religion, who know nothing of it ourſelves? How can we talk to our wives of God, Jeſus Chriſt, heaven and hell? why they would only laugh at us, who never yet have practiſed religion, but on the contrary all manner of wickedneſs" "Will Atkins," ſaid I "cannot you tell your wife ſhe is in the wrong, and that her gods are idols, which can neither, ſpeak, nor underſtand: but the

our God, who has made, can deſtroy all things: that he rewards the good and puniſhes the wicked; and at laſt will bring us to judgment: cannot you tell her theſe things?" "That's true" ſaid Atkins, "but then ſhe'll tell me it is utterly falſe, ſince I am not puniſhed and ſent to the devil, who hath been ſuch a wicked creature." Theſe words I interpreted to the prieſt! "O!" ſaid he, "tell him, his repentance will make him a very good miniſter to his ſpouſe, and qualify him to preach on the mercy and long-ſuffering of a merciful Being, who deſires not the death of a ſinner, and even defers damnation to the laſt judgment; this will lead him to the doctrine of the reſurrection, and will make him an excellent preacher to his wife." I repeated this to Atkins, who being more than ordinary affected with it, replied, "I know all this, Sir, and a great deal more; but how can I have the impudence to talk thus to my wife, when my conſcience witneſſes againſt me?" "Alas!" ſaid he (with tears in his eyes, and giving a great ſigh) "as for repenting, that is for ever paſt me." "Paſt you!" Atkins, ſaid I, "what do you mean?" "You know well enough," ſaid he, "what I mean; I mean it is too late."

When I told the prieſt what he ſaid, the poor affectionate man could not refrain from weeping; but recovering himſelf, "Pray, Sir," ſaid he, "aſk him if he is contented that it is too late; or is he concerned, and wiſhes it were not ſo?" This queſtion I put fairly to Atkins, who replied in a paſſion, "How can I be eaſy in a ſtate which I know muſt terminate in my ruin? for I really believe, ſome time or other, I ſhall cut my throat, to put a period both to my life, and to the terrors of my conſcience."

At this the clergyman ſhook his head, "Sir," ſaid he, "Pray tell him it is not too late; Chriſt will give him repentance, if he has recourſe to the merit of his paſſion. Does he think he is beyond the power of Divine Mercy? there may indeed be a time when provoked mercy will no longer ſtrive, but never too late for men to repent in this world." I told Atkins every world the prieſt had ſaid, who then parted from us to talk with his wife, while we diſcourſed with the reſt. But theſe were very ſtupid in religious matters, yet all of them promiſed to do their endeavours to make their wives turn Chriſtians; and upon which promiſes the prieſt married the three couple. But as Atkins was the only ſincere convert, and of more ſenſe than

the reſt, my clergyman was earneſtly inquiring after him: "Sir," ſaid he, "let us walk out of this labyrinth, and I dare ſay we ſhall find this poor man preaching to his wife already." And indeed we found it true; for coming to the edge of the wood, we perceived Atkins and his ſavage wife ſitting under the ſhade of a buſh, in very earneſt diſcourſe; he pointed to the ſun, to the quarters of the earth, to himſelf, to her, the woods, and the trees. Immediately we could perceive him ſtart upon his feet, fall down upon his knees, and lift up both his hands; at which the tears ran down my clergyman's cheeks; but our great misfortune was, we could not hear one word that paſſed between them. Another time he would embrace her, wiping the tears from her eyes, kiſſing her with the greateſt tranſports, and then both kneel down for ſome minutes together. Such raptures of joy did this occaſion in my young prieſt, that he could ſcarcely contain himſelf: And a little after this, we obſerved by her motion, as frequently lifting up her hands, and laying them on her breaſt, that ſhe was mightily affected with his diſcourſe, and ſo they withdrew from our ſight.

When we came back, we found them both waiting to be called in; upon which we agreed to examine him alone, and ſo I began thus to diſcourſe him. "Prithee, Will Atkins," ſaid I, "what education had you? What was your father?

W. A. A better man than ever I ſhall be: he was, Sir, a clergyman, who gave me good inſtruction, or correction, which I deſpiſed, like a brute as I was, and murdered my poor father.

Pr. Ha! a murderer!

[*Here the Prieſt ſtarted and looked pale, as thinking he had really killed his father.*]

R. C. What, did you kill him with your hands?

W. A. No, Sir, I cut not his throat, but broke his heart, by the moſt unnatural turn of diſobedience to the tendereſt and beſt of fathers.

R. C. Well, I pray God grant you repentance: I did not aſk you to extort a confeſſion; but I aſked you, becauſe I ſee you have more knowledge of what is good than your companions.

W. A. O, Sir, whenever I look back upon my paſt life, conſcience upbraids me with my father: the ſins againſt

our parents make the deepeſt wounds, and their weight lies the heavieſt upon the mind.

R. C. You talk, Will, too feelingly and ſenſibly for me; I am not able to bear it.

W. A. You bear it, Sir! you know nothing of it.

R. C. But yes, Atkins, I do; and every ſhore, valley, and tree in this iſland, witneſs the anguiſh of my ſoul for my undutifulneſs to my kind father, whom I have murdered likewiſe; yet my repentance falls infinitely ſhort of yours. But Will, how comes the ſenſe of this matter to touch you juſt now?

W. A. Sir, the work you have ſet me about, has occaſioned it; for talking to my wife about God and religion, ſhe has preached me ſuch a ſermon, that I ſhall retain it in laſting remembrance.

R. C. No, no, it is your own moving pious arguments to her, has made conſcience fling them back upon you. But pray Atkins, inform us what paſſed between you and your wife, and in what manner did you begin.

W. A. I talked to her of the laws of marriage, the reaſon of ſuch compacts, whereby order and juſtice is maintained; without which, men would run from their wives and children, to the diſſolution of families or inheritances.

R. C. Well, and what did ſhe ſay to all this?

W. A. Sir, ſhe began or diſcourſe in the following manner, which I ſhall exactly repeat according to my mean capacity, if you think it worth your while to honour it with your attention.

The DIALOGUE *between* Will Atkins *and his Wife in the wood.*

Wife. YOU tell me marriage God appoint, have you God in your country?

W. A. Yes, child, God is in every nation.

Wife. No; great old Benamuckee God is in my country, not yours.

W. A. My dear, God is in heaven, which he made; he alſo made the earth, the ſea, and all that is therein.

Wife. Why you not tell me much long ago?

W. A. My dear, I have been a wicked wretch, having a long time lived without the knowledge of God in the world.

Wife. What, not know great God in own nation? No do good ting? No ſay O to him? that's ſtrange!

W. A. But, my dear, many live as if there was no God in heaven for all that.

Wife. Why God ſuffer this? why makee not live well?

W. A. It is our own faults, child.

Wife. But if he much great, can makee kill, why no makee kill when no ſerve him? No be good mans, no cry O to him?

W. A That's true, my dear, he may ſtrike us dead, but his abundant mercy ſpareth us.

Wife. Did not you tell God tankee for that?

W. A. No, I have neither thanked him for his mercy, nor feared him for his power.

Wife. Then me not believe your God be good, nor makee kill, when you makee him angry.

W. A. Alas! muſt my wicked life hinder you from believing in him?

Wife. How can me tink your God live there? *(pointing to heaven.)* Sure he no ken what you do here.

W. A. Yes, my dear, he hears us ſpeak, ſees what we do, and knows what we even think

Wife. Where then makee power ſtrong, when he hears you curſe, ſwear de great damn?

W. A. My dear this ſhews he is indeed a God and not a man, who has ſuch tender mercy.

Wife. Mercy! what you call mercy?

W. A. He pities and ſpares us: as he is our great Creator, ſo is he alſo our tender father.

Wife. So God never angry, never kill wicked, then he no good, no great mighty.

W. A. O my dear, don't ſay ſo, he is both; and many times he ſhews terrible examples of his judgment and vengeance.

Wife. Then you makee de bargain with him; you do bad ting, he no hurt you, he hurt other mans.

W. A. No, indeed, my ſins are all preſumptions upon his goodneſs.

Wife. Well, and yet no makee you dead? and you give him no tankee neither?

W. A. It is true, I am an ungrateful, unthankful dog, that I am.

Wife. Why, you ſay, he makee you, why makee you no much better then?

W. A. It is I alone that have deformed myſelf, and abuſed his goodneſs.

Wife. Pray makee God know me, me no makee him angry, no do bad ting.

W. A. You mean, my dear, that you deſire I would teach you to know God: alas! poor dear creature, he muſt teach thee, and not I But I'll pray earneſtly to him to direct thee, and to forgive me, a miſerable ſinner. (Hereupon he went a little diſtance, and kneeling down, prayed earneſtly to God to enlighten her mind, and to pardon his ſins; when this was done, they continued their diſcourſe thus.)

Wife. What you put down knee for? For what hold up hand? Who you ſpeak to?

W. A. My dear, I bowed in token of ſubmiſſion to him that made me, and prayed that he would open your eyes and underſtanding.

Wife. And can he do that too? And will he hear what you ſay?

W. A Yes, my dear, he bids us pray, and has given us promiſe that he will hear us.

Wife. When did he bid you pray? What! do you hear him ſpeak?

W. A. No, my dear, but God has ſpoken formerly to good men from heaven; and by divine revelation they have written all his laws down in a book.

Wife. O where dat good book?

W. A. I have it not now by me; but one time or other I ſhall get it for you to read. "Then he embraced her with great affection."

Wife. Pray tell a mee did God teachee them write that book?

W. A. Yes, and by that rule we know him to be God.

Wife. What way, what rule you know him?

W. A. Becauſe he teaches what is good, juſt and holy; and forbids all wicked and abominable actions that incur his diſpleaſure.

Wife. O me fain underſtand that, and if he do all things you ſay he do, ſurely he hear me ſay O to him; he make me good if I wiſh to be good; he no kill me if I love him; me tink, believe him great God; me ſay O to him; along with you, my dear.

Here the poor man fell upon his knees, and made her kneel down by him, praying with the greateſt fervency,

that God would inſtruct her by his Holy Spirit; and that God by his providence would ſend them a Bible for both their inſtructions. And ſuch was the early piety of this new convert, that ſhe made him promiſe never to forſake God any more, leſt, being *mad dead*, as ſhe called it, ſhe ſhould not only want her inſtructor, but himſelf be miſerable in a long eternity.

Such a ſurpriſing account as this was, proved very affecting to us both, but particularly to the young clergyman, who was mightily concerned he could not talk to her himſelf. "Sir," ſaid he, "there is ſomething more to be done to this woman than to marry her: I mean that ſhe ought to be baptized." To this I preſently agreed: "Pray," ſaid he, "aſk her huſband, whether he has ever talked to her of Jeſus Chriſt, the ſalvation of ſinners, the nature of faith, and redemption in and by him, of the Holy Spirit, the reſurrection, laſt judgment, and a future ſtate;" but the poor fellow melted into tears at this queſtion, ſaying, that he had ſaid ſomething to her of theſe things, but his inability to talk of them, made him afraid leſt her knowledge of them ſhould rather make her contemn religion, than be benefited by it: but that if I would diſcourſe with her, it would be very evident my labour would not be in vain. Accordingly I called her in, and placing myſelf as interpreter between the religious prieſt and the woman, I intreated him to go on; but ſurely never was ſuch a ſermon preached by any clergyman in theſe latter days, with ſo much zeal, knowledge, and ſincerity; in ſhort, he brought the woman to embrace the knowledge of Chriſt, and of redemption by him, with ſo ſurpriſing a degree of underſtanding, that ſhe made it her own requeſt to be baptized.

He then performed his office in the ſacrament of baptiſm, firſt, by ſaying ſome words over to himſelf in Latin, and then aſking me to give her a name, as being her godfather, and pouring a whole diſh full of water upon the woman's head, he ſaid, "MARY, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt;" ſo that none could know of what religion he was. After this he pronounced the benediction in Latin. Thus the woman being made a Chriſtian, he married her to Will Atkins; which being finiſhed, he affectionately exhorted him to lead a holy life for the future; that ſince the Almighty, by the convictions of his conſcience, had honoured him to be the inſtrument of his wife's converſion, he ſhould

not diſhonour the grace of God, that while the ſavage was converted, the inſtrument ſhould be caſt away. Thus ended a ceremony, to me the moſt pleaſant and agreeable I ever paſſed in my life.

The affairs of the iſland being ſettled, I was preparing to go on board, when the young man (whoſe mother was ſtarved) came to me, ſaying, that as he underſtood I had a clergyman with me, who had married the Engliſhmen with ſavages, he had a match to make between two Chriſtians, which he deſired might be finiſhed before I departed. Thinking that it was he himſelf that had courted his mother's maid, I perſuaded him not to do any thing raſhly upon the account of his ſolitary circumſtances; that the maid was an unequal match for him, both in reſpect to ſubſtance and years; and that it was very probable he would live to return to his own country, where he might have a far better choice. At theſe words, ſmiling, he interrupted me, thanking me for my good advice; that as he had nothing to beg of me but a ſmall ſettlement, with a ſervant or two, or ſome few neceſſaries, ſo he hoped I would not be unmindful of him when I returned to England, but give his letters to his friends; and that when he was redeemed, the plantation, and all its improvements, however valuable, ſhould be returned to me again. But as for the marriage he propoſed, that it was not himſelf, but that it was between my Jack of all trades, and the maid Suſan.

I was indeed agreeably ſurpriſed at the mentioning this match, which ſeemed very ſuitable, the one being a very ingenious fellow, and the other an excellent, dexterous, and ſenſible houſe-wife, fit to be governeſs of the whole iſland: ſo we married them the ſame day; and, as I was her father, and gave her away, ſo I gave her a handſome portion, appointing her and her huſband a convenient large ſpace of ground for their plantation. The ſharing out of the land I left to Will Atkins, who really divided it very juſtly, to every perſon's ſatisfaction; they only deſired one general writing under my hand for the whole, which I cauſed to be drawn up, ſigned, and ſealed to them, ſetting out their bounds, and giving them a right to the whole poſſeſſion of their reſpective plantations, with their improvements, to them and their heirs, reſerving all the reſt of the iſland as my own property, and a certain rent for every particular plantation, after eleven years.

As to their laws and government, I exhorted them to love one another; and as to the Indians who lived in a nook by themſelves, I allotted three or four of them plantations, and the reſt willingly choſe to become ſervants to the other families, by which means they were employed in uſeful labour, and fared much better than they did before. Beſides, the ſavages being thus mixed with the Chriſtians, the work of their converſion might be ſet on foot by the latter, in the clergyman's abſence, to our equal ſatisfaction. The young prieſt, however, was a little anxious leſt the Chriſtians ſhould not be willing to do their parts in inſtructing thoſe poor Indians; I therefore told him, we ſhould call them all together; that he ſhould ſpeak to the Spaniards who were Papiſts, and I to the Engliſh who were Proteſtants, and make them promiſe that they would never make any diſtinction in religion, but teach the general true knowledge of God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, in order to convert the poor ſavages. And this, indeed, they all promiſed us accordingly.

When I came to Will Atkins's houſe, I found his baptized wife, and the young woman newly married to my Jack of all trades, were become great intimates, and diſcourſing of religion together. "O, Sir," ſays Will Atkins, "when God has ſinners to reconcile to himſelf, he never wants an inſtructor: I knew I was unworthy of ſo good a work, and therefore this young woman has been ſent hither as it were from heaven, who is ſufficient to convert a whole nation of ſavages." The young woman bluſhed, and was going to riſe; but I deſired her to ſit ſtill, and hoped that God would bleſs her in ſo good a work; and then, pulling out a Bible (which I brought on purpoſe in my pocket for him) "Here, Atkins," ſaid I, "here is an aſſiſtant that perhaps you had not before." So confounded was the poor man, that it was ſome time before he could ſpeak: at laſt, turning to his wife, "My dear," he ſaid, "did I not tell you that God could hear what we ſaid? Here's the book I prayed for, when you and I kneeled under the buſh: God then heard us, and now has ſent it." The woman was ſurpriſed, and thought really God had ſent that individual book from heaven; but I turned to the young woman, and deſired her to explain to the young convert, that God may properly be ſaid to anſwer our petitions, when, in the courſe of his providence, ſuch particular things come to paſs as we petitioned for. This the young wo-

man did effectually; but ſurely Will Atkins's joy cannot be expreſſed; no man being more thankful for any thing in the world, than he was for his Bible, nor deſired it from a better principle.

After ſeveral religious diſcourſes, I deſired the young woman to give me an account of the anguiſh ſhe felt when ſhe was ſtarving to death for hunger; to which ſhe readily conſented, and began in the following manner:

"Sir," ſaid ſhe, "all our victuals being gone, after I had faſted one day, my ſtomach was very ſickly, and, at the approach of night, I was inclined to yawning and ſleepy. When I ſlept upon the couch three hours, I awaked a little refreſhed: three hours after, my ſtomach being more and more ſickly, I lay down again, but could not ſleep, being very faint and ill. Thus I paſſed the ſecond day with a ſtrange variety, firſt hungry, then ſick again, with reachings to vomit: that night I dreamed I was at Barbadoes, buying plenty of proviſions, and dined heartily. But when I awaked, my ſpirits were exceedingly ſunk, to find myſelf in the extremity of famine. There was but one glaſs of wine, which being mixed with ſugar, I drank up; but for want of ſubſtance to digeſt upon, the fumes of it got into my head, and made me ſenſeleſs for ſome time. The third day I was ſo ravenous and furious, that I could have eaten a little child if it had come in my way; during which time, I was as mad as any creature in Bedlam. In one of theſe fits I fell down, and ſtruck my face againſt the corner of a pallet bed, where my miſtreſs lay: the blood guſhed out of my noſe, but by my exceſſive bleeding, both the violence of the fever, and the ravenous part of the hunger abated. After this, I grew ſick again, ſtrove to vomit, but could not; then bleeding a ſecond time, I ſwooned away as dead; when I came to myſelf I had a dreadful gnawing pain in my ſtomach, which went off towards night, with a longing deſire for food. I took a draught of water and ſugar, but it came up again; then I drank water without ſugar, and that ſtaid with me. I laid me down on the bed, praying God would take me away; after I had ſlumbered, I thought myſelf a dying, therefore recommended my ſoul to God, and wiſhed ſomebody would throw me into the ſea. All this while my departing miſtreſs lay by me; the laſt bit of bread ſhe had, ſhe gave to her dear child, my young maſter. The morning after, I fell into a violent

paſſion of crying, and after that into hunger. I eſpied the blood that came from my noſe in a baſon, which I immediately ſwallowed up. At night I had the uſual variations, as pain in the ſtomach, ſick, ſleepy, and ravenous; and I had no thought but that I ſhould die before morning. In the morning came on terrible gripings in my bowels. At this time, I heard my young maſter's lamentations, by which I underſtood his mother was dead. Soon after, the ſailors cried, "A ſail! A ſail!" hallooing as if they were diſtracted for joy of that relief, which afterwards we received from your hands."

Surely never was a more diſtinct account of ſtarving to death than this. But to return to the diſpoſition of things among my people, I did not take any notice to them of the ſloop that I had framed, neither would I leave them the two pieces of braſs cannon, or the two quarter deck guns that I had on board, leſt, upon any diſguſt, they ſhould have ſeparated, or turned pirates, and ſo made the iſland a den of thieves, inſtead of a plantation of ſober pious people: but leaving them in a flouriſhing condition, with a promiſe to ſend them further relief from Brazil, as ſheep, hogs, and cows (being obliged to kill the latter at ſea, having no hay to feed them) I went on board the ſhip again, the firſt of May, 1695, after having been twenty days among them; and next morning, giving them a ſalute of five guns at parting, we ſet ſail for the Brazils. The third day, towards evening, there happening a calm, and the current being very ſtrong, we were drove to the N. N. E. towards the land. Some hours after, we perceived the ſea covered as it were with ſomething very black, not eaſily at firſt to be diſcovered: upon which our chief mate aſcending the ſhrouds a little way, and taking a view with a perſpective glaſs, he cries out, "an army! An army," "you fool," ſaid I, "what do you mean?" "Nay, Sir," ſaid he, "don't be angry, I aſſure you it is not only an army, but a fleet too; for I believe there are a thouſand canoes paddling along, and making with great haſte towards us.

Indeed every one of as were ſurpriſed at this relation: and my nephew the captain could not tell what to think of it, but thought we ſhould all be devoured. Nor was I free from concern, when I conſidered how much we were becalmed, and what a ſtrong current ſet towards the ſhore: however, I encouraged him not to be afraid, but bring the ſhip to an anchor, as ſoon as we were certain that we

muſt engage them. Accordingly we did ſo, and furled all our ſails: as to the ſavages we feared nothing, but only that they might ſet the ſhip on fire; to prevent which, I ordered them to get their boats out, and faſten them, one cloſe by the head, and the other by the ſtern, well manned, with ſkeets and buckets to extinguiſh the flames, ſhould it ſo happen. The ſavages ſoon came up with us, but there were not ſo many as the mate had ſaid, for inſtead of a thouſand canoes, there were only one hundred and twenty; too many indeed for us, ſeveral of their canoes containing about ſixteen or ſeventeen men.

As they approached us, they ſeemed to be in the greateſt amazement, not knowing what to make of us. They rowed round the ſhip, which occaſioned us to call to the men in the boats, not to ſuffer them to come near them. Hereupon they beckoned to the ſavages to keep back, which they accordingly did; but at their retreat they let fly about fifty arrows among us, and very much wounded one of our men in the long-boat. I called to them not to fire upon any account, but handing them down ſome deal boards, the carpenters made them a kind of fence to ſhield them from the arrows. In half an hour after they came ſo near aſtern of us, that we had a perfect ſight of them; then they rowed a little farther out, till they came directly along ſide of us, and then approached ſo near that they could hear us ſpeak: this made me order all our men to keep cloſe, and get their guns ready. In the mean time I ordered Friday to go out upon deck, and aſk them in his language what they meant? No ſooner did he do ſo, but ſix of the ſavages, who were in the foremoſt canoes, ſtooping down, ſhewed us their naked backſides, as much as to ſay in *Engliſh*, *kiſs our* ——: but Friday quickly knew what this meant, by immediately crying out they were going to ſhoot; unfortunately for him, poor creature! who fell under the cloud of three hundred arrows, no leſs than ſeven piercing through his body, killing one of the beſt ſervants, and faithfuleſt of companions in all my ſolitudes and afflictions.

So enraged was I at the death of poor Friday, that the guns, which before were charged with only powder, to frighten them, I ordered to be loaded with ſmall ſhot; nor did the gunners fail in their aim, but at this broadſide ſplit and overſet thirteen or fourteen of their canoes, which killed numbers of them, and ſet the reſt a ſwim-

ming: the others, frightened out of their wits, little regarding their fellows drowning, ſcoured away as faſt as they could. One poor wretch our people took up, ſwimming for his life, an hour after. He was very ſullen at firſt, ſo that he would neither eat nor ſpeak: but I took a way to cure him, by ordering them to throw him into the ſea, which they did, and then he came ſwimming back like a cork, calling in his tongue, as I ſuppoſe, to ſave him. So we took him on board, but it was a long time before we could make him ſpeak or underſtand Engliſh: yet when we had taught him, he told us they were going with their kings to fight a great battle; and when we aſked him, what made them come up to us? he ſaid, "to makee de great wonder look:" where, it is to be noted, that thoſe natives, and thoſe of Africa, always add two *e*'s at the end of Engliſh words, as *makee*, *takee*, and the like, from which it is a very difficult thing to make them break off.

Being now under ſail, we took our laſt farewell of poor honeſt Friday, and interred him with all poſſible decency and ſolemnity; putting him in a coffin, and committing him to the deep, at the ſame time cauſing eleven guns to be fired for him. Thus ended the life of one of the moſt grateful, faithful, honeſt, and affectionate ſervants, that ever any man was bleſſed with in the world.

Having now a fair wind for Brazil, in about twelve days time we made land in the latitude of five degrees ſouth of the line. Four days we kept on S. by E. in ſight of ſhore, when we made cape St. Auguſtine, and in three days we came up to an anchor off the Bay of All Saints. I had great difficulty here to get leave to hold correſpondence on ſhore: for neither the figure of my partner, my two merchant truſtees, nor the fame of my wonderful preſervation in the iſland, could procure me the favour, till ſuch time as the prior of the monaſtry of the Auguſtines (to whom I had given 500 moidores) obtained leave from the Governor, for me perſonally, with the Captain and one more, together with eight ſailors, to come on ſhore: upon this condition, that we ſhou'd not land any goods out of the ſhip, nor carry any perſon away without licence: I found means however to get on ſhore three bales of Engliſh goods, ſuch as fine broad cloths, ſtuffs, and ſome linen, which I brought as a preſent for my partner, who had ſent me on board a preſent of freſh proviſions, wine, and ſweet-

meats, worth above thirty moidores, including ſome tobacco, and three or four fine gold medals.

Here I delivered my partner in goods to the value of 100l. ſterling, and obliged him to fit up the ſloop I bought for the uſe of my iſland, in order to ſend them refreſhments: and ſo active was he in this matter, that he had the veſſel finiſhed in a few days, to the maſter of which I gave particular inſtructions to find the place. I ſoon loaded him with a ſmall cargo; and one of our ſailors offered to ſettle there, upon my letter to the Spaniſh governor, if I would allot him tools and a plantation. This I willingly granted, and gave him the ſavage we had taken priſoner to be his ſlave. All things being ready for the voyage, my old partner told me, there was an acquaintance of his, a Brazil planter, who having fallen under the diſpleaſure of the church, and in fear of the Inquiſition, which obliged him to be concealed, would be glad of ſuch an opportunity to make his eſcape, with his wife and two daughters; and if I would allot them a plantation in my iſland, he would give them a ſmall ſtock to begin with, for that the officers had already ſeized his effects and eſtate, and left him nothing but a little houſehold ſtuff, and two ſlaves. This requeſt I preſently granted, concealing him and his family on board our ſhip, till ſuch time as the ſloop (where all the effects were) was gone out of the bay, and then we put them on board, who carried ſome materials, and plants for planting ſugar-canes, along with them. By this ſloop, among other things, I ſent my ſubjects three milk cows and five calves, about 22 hogs, three ſows big with pig, two mares and a ſtone horſe. I alſo engaged three Portugal women to go for ſake of the Spaniards, which, with the perſecuted man's two daughters, were ſufficient, ſince the reſt had wives of their own, though in another country; all which cargo arrived ſafe, no doubt to their exceeding comfort, who, with this addition, were about ſixty or ſeventy people, beſides children.

At this place, my truly honeſt and pious clergyman left me; for a ſhip being ready to ſet ſail for Liſbon, he aſked me leave to go thither; but I aſſure you, it was with the greateſt reluctance I parted from a perſon, whoſe virtue and piety merited the greateſt eſteem.

From the Brazils, we made directly over the Atlantic Ocean, to the Cape of Good Hope, having a tolerable good voyage, ſteering for the moſt part S. E. We were

on a trading voyage, and had a ſupercargo on board, who was to direct all the ſhip's motions after ſhe arrived at the Cape, only being limited to a certain number of days, for ſtay, by charter party, at the ſeveral ports ſhe was to go to. At the Cape, we only took in freſh water, and then ſailed for the coaſt of Coromandel: we were there informed, that a French man of war of 50 guns, and two large merchant ſhips, were ſailed for the Indies, but we heard no more of them.

In our paſſage, we touched at the iſland of Madagaſcar, where, though the inhabitants are naturally fierce and treacherous, and go conſtantly armed with bows and lances, yet for ſome time they treated us civilly enough; and, in exchange for knives, ſciſſars, and other trifles, they brought us eleven good fat bullocks, which we took partly for preſent victuals, and the remainder to ſalt for the ſhip's uſe.

So curious was I to view every corner of the world where I came to, that I went on ſhore as often as I could. One evening when on ſhore, we obſerved numbers of the people ſtand gazing at us at a diſtance. We thought ourſelves in no danger, as they had hitherto uſed us kindly. However, we cut three boughs out of a tree, ſticking them at a diſtance from us, which it ſeems, in that country, is not only a token of truce and amity, but when poles or boughs are ſet up on the other ſide, it is a ſign the truce is accepted. In theſe treaties, however, there is one principal thing to be regarded, that neither party come beyond one another's three poles or boughs; ſo that the middle ſpace is not only ſecure, but is alſo allowed as a market for traffic and commerce: when the truce is thus accepted, they ſtick up their javelins and lances at the firſt poles, and come on unarmed; but, if any violence is offered, away they run to their poles, take up their weapons, and then the truce is at an end. This evening it happened that a greater number of people than uſual, both men and women, traded among us for ſuch toys as we had, with ſuch great civility, that we made us a little tent of large boughs of trees, ſome of the men reſolving to lie on ſhore all night: but, for my part, I and ſome others took our lodging in the boat, with boughs of trees ſpread over it, having a ſail ſpread at the bottom to lie upon. About two o'clock in the morning we were awakened by the firing of muſkets, and our men crying out for help, or

elſe they would all be murdered. Scarce had we time to get the boat aſhore, when our men came plunging themſelves into the water, with about four hundred of the iſlanders at their heels. We took up ſeven of the men, three of them very much wounded, and one left behind killed, while the enemy poured their arrows ſo thick among us, that we were forced to make a barricade, with boards lying at the ſide of the boat, to ſhield us from danger; and, having got ready our fire-arms, we returned them a volley, which wounded ſeveral of them, as we could hear by their cries. In this condition we lay till break of day, and then making ſignals of diſtreſs to the ſhip, which my nephew the captain heard and underſtood, he weighed anchor, and ſtood as near the ſhore as poſſible, and then ſent another boat with ten hands in her to aſſiſt us; but we called to them not to come near, informing them of our unhappy condition. However, they ventured; when one of the men taking the end of tow-line in one hand, and keeping our boat between him and our adverſaries, ſwam to us, and ſlipping our cables, they towed us out of the reach of their arrows, and quickly after, a broadſide was given them from the ſhip, which made a moſt dreadful havock among them. When we got on board, we examined into the occaſion of this fray? the men who fled informed us, that an old woman, who ſold milk within the poles, had brought a young woman with her, who carried roots or herbs, the ſight of whom ſo much tempted our men, that they offered rudeneſs to the maid, at which the old woman ſet up a great cry; nor would the ſailors part with the prize, but carried her among the trees, while the old women went, and brought a whole army down upon them. At the beginning of the attack, one of our men was killed with a lance, and the fellow who began the miſchief, paid dear enough for his miſtreſs, though as yet we did not know what had become of him; the reſt luckily eſcaped. The third night after the action, being curious to underſtand how affairs ſtood, I took the ſupercargo, and twenty ſtout fellows with me, and landed about two hours before midnight, at the ſame place where thoſe Indians ſtood the night before, and there we divided our men into two bodies, the boatſwain commanding one, and I another. It was ſo dark, that we could ſee nobody, neither did we hear any voice near us: but by and by the boatſwain falling over a dead body, we agreed to halt till the moon ſhould

riſe, which we knew would be in an hour after. We perceived here no fewer than two and thirty bodies upon the ground, whereof two were not quite dead. Satisfied with this diſcovery, I was for going on board again; but the boatſwain and the reſt told me, they would make a viſit to the Indian town, where thoſe dogs, ſo they called them, reſided, aſking me at the ſame time to go along with them; for, they did not doubt, beſides getting a good booty, but they ſhould find Tom Jeffery there, for that was the unhappy man we miſſed. But I utterly refuſed to go, and commanded them back, being unwilling to hazard their lives, as the ſafety of the ſhip wholly depended upon them. Notwithſtanding all I could ſay to them, they all left me but one, and the ſupercargo; ſo we three returned to the boat, where a boy was left, reſolving to ſtay till they returned. At parting I told them I ſuppoſed moſt of them would run the ſame fate with Tom Jeffery. To this they replied, "Come boys, come along, we'll warrant we'll come off ſafe enough:" and ſo away they went, notwithſtanding all my admonitions, either concerning their own ſafety, or the preſervation of the ſhip. Indeed, they were gallantly armed, every man having a muſket, bayonet, and a piſtol, beſides cutlaſſes, hangers, pole-axes, and hand granadoes. They came to a few Indian houſes at firſt, which not being the town they expected, they went farther, and finding a cow tied to a tree, they concluded that ſhe would be a ſufficient guide, and ſo it proved; for, after they untied her, ſhe led them directly to the town, which conſiſted of above two hundred houſes, ſeveral families living in ſome of the huts together. At their arrival, all being in a profound ſleep, the ſailors agreed to divide themſelves into three bodies, and ſet three parts of the town on fire at once, to kill thoſe that were eſcaping, and plunder the reſt of the houſes. Thus deſperately reſolved, they went to work: but the firſt party had not gone far, before they called out to the reſt, that they had found Tom Jeffery; whereupon they all ran up to the place, and found the poor fellow indeed hanging up naked by one arm, and his throat cut almoſt from ear to ear: in a houſe that was hard by the tree they found ſixteen or ſeventeen Indians, who had been concerned in the fray, two or three of them being wounded, who were not gone to ſleep: this houſe they on fire firſt, and in a few minutes after, five or ſix places more in the

town appeared in flames. The conflagration ſpread like wild fire, their houſes being all of wood, and covered with flags or ruſhes. The poor affrighted inhabitants endeavoured to run out to ſave their lives, but they were driven back into the flames by the ſailors, and killed without mercy. At the firſt houſe above-mentioned, after the boatſwain had ſlain two with his pole-axe, he threw a hand-granado into the houſe, which burſting, made a terrible havock, killing and wounding moſt of them; and their king and moſt of his train, who were then in that houſe, fell victims to their fury, every creature of them being either ſmothered or burnt. All this while they never fired a gun, leſt the people ſhould awaken faſter than they could overpower them. But the fire awakened them faſt enough, which obliged our fellows to keep together in bodies. By this time the whole town was in a flame, yet their fury rather increaſed, calling out to one another to remember Tom Jeffery. The terrible light of this conflagration made me very uneaſy, and rouſed my nephew the captain, and the reſt of his men, who knew nothing of the matter. When he perceived the dreadful ſmoke, and heard the guns go off, he readily concluded his men were in danger; he therefore takes another boat, and comes aſhore himſelf, with thirteen men well armed. He was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee me and only two men in the boat, but more ſo when I told him the ſtory; but though I argued with him, as I did with his men, about the danger of the voyage, the intereſts of the merchants and owners, and the ſafety of the ſhip, yet my nephew, like the reſt, declared, that he would rather loſe the ſhip, his voyage, his life, and all, than his men ſhould be loſt for want of help: and ſo away he went. For my part, ſeeing him reſolved to go, I had not power to ſtay behind. He ordered the pinnace back again for twelve men more, and then we marched directly as the flame guided us. But ſurely never was ſuch a ſcene of horror beheld, or more diſmal cries heard, except when Oliver Cromwell took Drogheda in Ireland, where he neither ſpared man, woman, nor child.

The firſt object, I think, we met with, was the ruins of one of their habitations, before which lay four men and three women killed, and two more burnt to death among the fire, which was now decaying. Nothing could appear more barbarous than this revenge; none more cruel than

the authors of it. As we went on, the fire increaſed, and the cry proceeded in proportion. We had not gone much farther, when we beheld three naked women, followed by ſixteen or ſeventeen men, flying with the greateſt ſwiftneſs from our men, who ſhot one of them in our ſight. When they perceived us, whom they ſuppoſed alſo their murderers, they ſet up a moſt dreadful ſhriek, and both of them ſwooned away in the fright. This was a ſight which might have ſoftened the hardeſt heart: and in pity, we took ſome ways to let them know we would not hurt them, while the poor creatures with bended knees, and lifted up hands, made piteous lamentations to us to ſave their lives. I ordered our men not to hurt any of the poor creatures whatſoever; but being willing to underſtand the occaſion of all this, I went among theſe unhappy wretches, who neither underſtood me, nor the good I meant them. However, being reſolved to put an end to this barbarity, I ordered the men to follow me. We had not gone fifty yards before we came up with the boatſwain, with four of our men at his heels, all of them covered with blood and duſt, and in ſearch of more people to ſatiate their vengeance. As ſoon as we ſaw them, we called out, and made them underſtand who we were; upon which they came up to us, ſetting up a holloo of triumph, in token that more help was come. "Noble, captain," ſaid he to my nephew, "I'm glad you're come: we have not half done with theſe villainous hell-hound dogs, we'll root out the very nation of them from the earth, and kill more than poor Tom has hairs upon his head:" and thus he went on till I interrupted him. "Blood thirſty dog!" ſaid I, "will your cruelty never end? I charge you touch not one creature more; ſtop your hands, and ſtand ſtill, or you're a dead man this moment." "Why, Sir," ſaid he, "you neither know whom you are protecting, nor what they have done: but, pray, come hither, and behold an inſtance of compaſſion, if ſuch can merit your clemency;" and with that he ſhewed me poor fellow with his throat cut, hanging upon the tree.

Indeed, here was enough to fill their breaſts with rage, which, however, I thought had gone too far, agreeable to theſe words of Jacob to his ſons Simeon and Levi: "Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel." But this ſight made my nephew and the reſt as bad as they: nay, my nephew declared, his concern was only for his men; as for the people not a ſoul

of them ought to live. Upon this, the boatſwain and eight more directly turned about, and went to finiſh the intended tragedy; which being out of my power to prevent, I returned back from the diſmal ſight, and the piteous cries of thoſe unfortunate creatures, who were made victims to their fury. Indeed, it was an egregious piece of folly in me to return to the boat with but one attendant; and I had very near paid for it, having narrowly eſcaped forty armed Indians, who had been alarmed by the conflagration; but having paſſed the place where they ſtood, I got to the boat, accompanied with the ſupercargo, and ſo went on board, ſending the pinnace back again, to aſſiſt the men in what might happen. When I had got to the boat, the fire was almoſt extinguiſhed, and the noiſe abated; but I had ſcarce been half an hour on board the ſhip, when I heard another volley given by our ſailors, and a great ſmoke, which as I afterwards, found, was our men falling upon thoſe houſes and perſons that ſtood between them and the ſea: but here they ſpared the wives and children, and killed only the men, to the number of about ſixteen or ſeventeen. By the time they got to the ſhore, the pinnace and the ſhip's boat were ready to recive them, and they all got ſafe on board, not a man of them having received the leaſt hurt, except two, one of whom ſtrained his foot, and the other burnt his hand a little; for they met with no reſiſtance, the poor Indians being unprepared, amazed, and confounded.

I was extremely angry with every one of them, but particularly with the captain, who, inſtead of cooling the rage of the men, had prompted them on to further miſchief: nor could he make me any other excuſe, but, that as he was a man, he could not maſter his paſſions at the ſight of of one of his men ſo cruelly murdered. As for the reſt, knowing they were not under my command, they took no notice of my anger: but rather boaſted of their revenge. According to all their accounts, they killed or deſtroyed about 150 men, women, and children, beſides burning the town to aſhes. They took their companion Tom Jeffery from the tree, covered him with ſome of the ruins, and ſo left him. But, however, this action of our men might ſeem to them juſtifiable, yet I always openly condemned it with the appellation of the Maſſacre of Madagaſcar. For tho' the natives had ſlain this Jeffery, yet cer-

tainly he was the firſt aggreſſor, by attempting to violate the chaſtity of a young innocent woman, who ventured down to them, on the faith of the public capitulation, which was ſo treacherouſly broken.

While we were underſail, the boatſwain would often defend this bloody action, by ſaying, that the Indians had broke the truce the night before, by ſhooting one of our men without juſt provocation: and what if the poor fellow had taken a little liberty with the wench, he ought not to have been murdered in ſo villainous a manner: and that they had acted nothing but what the divine laws commiſſioned to be done to ſuch homicides. However, I was in the ſame mind as before, telling them that they were murderers, and bid him depend upon't that God would blaſt their voyage for ſuch an unparalleled piece of barbarity.

When we came into the gulph of Perſia, five of our men, who ventured on ſhore, were either killed or made ſlaves by the Arabians, the reſt of them having ſcarce time to eſcape to their boat. This made me upbraid them afreſh with the juſt retribution of Heaven for ſuch actions; upon which the boatſwain very warmly aſked me, "Whether thoſe men on whom the tower of Siloam fell, were greater ſinners than the reſt of the Galileans?" and beſides, "Sir," ſaid he, "none of theſe five poor men that are loſt, were with us at the maſſacre of Madagaſcar, as you call it; and, therefore, your reprehenſion is very unjuſt, and your application improper. Beſides," added he, "you are continually uſing the men very ill, upon this account, and being but a paſſenger yourſelf, we are not obliged to bear it; nor can we tell what evil deſigns you may have to bring us to judgment for it in England; and, therefore, if you do not leave this diſcourſe, as alſo not concern yourſelf with any of our affairs, I will leave the ſhip, and not ſail among ſuch dangerous company."

All this I heard very patiently; but, it being often repeated, I at length told him, the concern I had on board was none of his buſineſs; that I was a conſiderable owner in the ſhip, and therefore had a right to ſpeak in common, and that I was no way accountable to him, nor to any body elſe. As no more paſſed for ſome time after, I thought all had been over. At this time we were in the road of Bengal, where, going on ſhore with the ſupergo, one day, in the evening, as I was preparing to go on board, one of the

men came to me, and told me, I need not trouble myſelf to come to the boat, for that the cockſwain and others had ordered him not to carry me on board any more. This inſolent meſſage much ſurpriſed me; yet I gave him no anſwer to it, but went directly and acquainted the ſupercargo, entreating him to go on board, and, by acquainting the Captain with it, prevent the mutiny which I perceived would happen. But before I had ſpoken this, the matter was effected on board; for no ſooner was he gone off in the boat, but the boatſwain, gunner, carpenter, and all the inferior officers, came to the quarter-deck, deſiring to ſpeak with the Captain; and there the boatſwain made a long harangue, exclaiming againſt me, as before mentioned, that, if I had not gone aſhore peaceably, for my own diverſion, they, by violence, would have compelled me for their ſatisfaction: that as they had ſhipped with the Captain, ſo they would faithfully ſerve him; but, if I did not quit the ſhip, or the Captain oblige me to it, they would leave the ſhip immediately; hereupon, turning his face about by way of ſignal, they all cried out, "ONE and ALL, ONE and ALL."

You may be ſure, that though my nephew was a man of great courage, yet he could not but be ſurpriſed at their ſudden and unexpected behaviour; and, though he talked ſtoutly to them, and afterwards expoſtulated with them, that in common juſtice to me, who was a conſiderable owner in the ſhip, they could not turn me as it were, out of my own houſe, which might bring their lives in danger, ſhould they ever be taken in England; nay, though he invited the boatſwain on ſhore to accommodate matters with me; yet all this I ſay ſignified nothing; they would have nothing to do with me; and they were reſolved to go on ſhore if I came on board. "Well," ſaid my nephew, "if you are ſo reſolved, permit me to talk with him, and then I have done;" and ſo he came to me, giving me an account of their reſolution, how one and all deſigned to forſake the ſhip when I came on board, for which he was mightily concerned. "I am glad to ſee you nephew," ſaid I, "and rejoice it is no worſe, ſince they have not rebelled againſt you; I only deſire you to ſend my neceſſary things on ſhore, with a ſufficient ſum of money, and I will find my way to England, as well as I can." Though this grieved my nephew to the heart, yet there was no reme-

dy but compliance; in ſhort, all my neceſſaries were ſent me, and ſo this matter was over in a few hours.

I think I was now near a thouſand leagues farther off England by ſea, than at my little kingdom, except this difference, that I might travel by land over the Great Mogul's country to Surat, from thence to Baſſora, by ſea up the Perſian gulf, then take the way of the caravans over the Arabian deſert to Aleppo and Scanderoon, there take ſhipping to Italy, and ſo travel by land into France, and from thence croſs the ſea to England.

My nephew left me two perſons to attend me; one of them was his ſervant, and the other clerk to the purſer, who engaged to be mine. I took lodgings in an Engliſh woman's houſe, where ſeveral French, one Engliſh, and two Italian merchants reſided. The handſome entertainment I met with here, occaſioned me to ſtay nine months conſidering what courſe I ſhould take. Some Engliſh goods I had with me of great value, beſides a thouſand pieces of eight, and a letter for more, if there was ſuch neceſſity. The goods I ſoon diſpoſed of to advantage, and bought here ſeveral good diamonds, which I could eaſily carry about with me. One morning the Engliſh merchant came to me, as being very intimate together, "Countryman," ſaid he, "I have a project to communicate to you, which I hope, will ſuit to both our advantage. To be ſhort, Sir, we are both in a remote part of the world from our country; but yet in a place where men of buſineſs may get a great deal of money. Now, if you will put a thouſand pounds to my thouſand pounds, we will hire a ſhip to our ſatisfaction: you ſhall be Captain, I will be merchant; and we'll go a trading voyage to China, for why ſhould we lie ſtill like drones, while the whole world is in a continual motion."

This propoſal ſoon got my conſent, being very agreeable to my rambling genius; and the more ſo, becauſe I looked upon my countryman to be a very ſincere perſon; it required ſome time before we could get a veſſel to our mind, and ſailors to man it accordingly; at length, we bought a ſhip, and got an Engliſh mate, boatſwain, and gunner, a Dutch carpenter, and three Portugueſe foremaſt-men; and, for want of others, made ſhift with Indian ſeamen. We firſt ſailed to Achin, in the iſland of Sumatra, and then to Siam, where we bartered our wares for ſome arack and opium, the laſt of which bore a great price among the Chineſe; in a word, we went up to

Suſkan, making a very great voyage; and, after eight months time, I returned to Bengal, very well ſatisfied with this adventure, having not only got a ſufficient quantity of money, but an inſight of getting a great deal more.

The next voyage my friend propoſed to me, was to go among the Spice iſlands, and bring home a load of cloves from the Manillas, or thereabouts, iſlands belonging partly to Spain, but where the Dutch trade very conſiderably. We were not long in preparing for this voyage, which we made no leſs ſucceſsful than the laſt, touching at Borneo, and ſeveral other places which I do not perfectly remember, and returning home in about five months time. We ſoon ſold our ſpices, which were chiefly cloves and ſome nutmegs, to the Perſian merchants, who carried them away for the gulf; and, in ſhort, making five to one advantage, we were loaded with money.

Not long after my friend and I had made up our accounts, to our entire ſatisfaction, there came in a Dutch coaſter from Batavia, of about two hundred tons. The crew of this veſſel pretended themſelves ſo ſickly, that there were not hands ſufficient to undertake a voyage; and the Captain having given out that he intended to go to Europe, public notice was given that the ſhip was to be ſold. No ſooner did this come to our ears, but we bought the ſhip, paid the maſter, and took poſſeſſion. We would alſo have very willingly entertained ſome of the men: but they having received their ſhare of booty, were not to be found, being altogether fled to Agra, the great city of the Mogul's reſidence; and from thence were to travel to Surat, and ſo by the ſea to the Perſian gulf. And indeed they had reaſon to fly in this manner; for the truth of it was, the pretended Captain was the gunner only, and not the commander: that having been on a trading voyage, they were attacked on ſhore by the Malayans, who killed three men, and the Captain; after whoſe death the other eleven men run away with the ſhip to the bay of Bengal, and left the mate and five men more on ſhore; but of this affair we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak at more length hereafter.

However they came by the ſhip, we thought we bought it honeſtly; neither did we ſuſpect any thing of the matter; when the man ſhewed us a bill of ſale for the ſhip (undoubtedly forged) to one Emanuel Cloſterſhoven, which name he went by. And ſo without any more to do, we

picked up ſome Dutch and Engliſh ſeamen, reſolving for another voyage for cloves among the Philippine and Molucca iſlands; in ſhort, we continued thus five or ſix years, trading from port to port with extraordinary ſucceſs; in the ſeventh year we undertook a voyage to China, deſigning to touch at Siam, and buy ſome rice by the way. In this voyage, contrary winds beat us up and down for a conſiderable time among the iſlands in the ſtraits of Molucca. No ſooner were we clear of thoſe rugged ſeas, but we perceived our ſhip had ſprung a leak, which obliged us to put into the river Cambodia, which lies northward of the gulf, and goes up to Siam.

One day as I was on ſhore refreſhing myſelf, there comes to me an Engliſhman, who was gunner's mate on board an Engliſh Eaſt India ſhip riding up the river near the city of Cambodia. "Sir," ſaid he, "you may wonder at my buſineſs, having never ſeen me in your life; but tho' I am a ſtranger, I have ſomething to tell you that very nearly concerns you; and indeed it is the imminent danger you are in, has moved me to give you this timely notice." "Danger!" ſaid I, "what danger? I know of none, except my ſhip being leaky, for which I deſign to have run aground to-morrow morning." "I hope you will be better employed, when you ſhall hear what I have to ſay to you. You know the town of Cambodia is about fifteen leagues up this river; about three leagues on this ſide of it, there lie two Dutch and three Engliſh ſhips. And would you venture here without conſidering what ſtrength you have to engage them?" I knew not what he meant by this diſcourſe, and turning ſhort upon him, "Sir," ſaid I, "I know no reaſon I have to be afraid either of any Engliſh or Dutch ſhips. I am no interloper, and what buſineſs have they with me?" "Well, Sir," ſaid the man, "if you do think yourſelf ſecure, all as I can ſay, you muſt take your chance; however, I am very ſorry you are ſo deaf to good advice; but I aſſure you if you do not put to ſea immediately, you will be attacked by five long boats full of men, hanged yourſelf for a pirate, if you are taken, and the particulars examined afterwards." "I thought, Sir," added he, "I might have met a better reception for ſuch a ſingular piece of ſervice." "Sir," ſaid I, "I was never ungrateful to any man; but pray explain yourſelf, and I'll go on board this minute, whether the leak be ſtopped or no." "Why, Sir," ſaid

he, "to be ſhort, becauſe time is precious, the matter is this: "You know well enough that you was with the ſhip at Sumatra, where your Captain was murdered by the Malayans, with three of his ſailors; and that either you, or ſome who were on board you, ran away with the ſhip, and are ſince turned pirates at ſea. Now, Sir, this is the ſum of what I had to ſay; and I can poſitively aſſure you, that if you be taken, you will be executed without much ceremony; for undoubtedly you cannot but be ſenſible what little law merchant ſhips ſhew to pirates, whenever they fall into their hands."

"Sir," ſaid I, "I thank you for your kind information; and though, I am ſure, no man could come more honeſtly by the ſhip than I have done, yet knowing their enterprize, and being ſatisfied of your honeſt intention, I'll be upon my defence." "Pr'ythee, Sir," ſaid the man, "don't talk of being upon your defence, the beſt that you can make is to be out of danger; and therefore, if you have any regard for your life, and the lives of your men, take the advantage, without fail, of putting out to ſea at high water; by which means, as you have a whole tide before you, you will be gone too far out of their reach before they can come down."

"I am mighty well ſatisfied," ſaid I, "in this particular, and for your kindneſs, which merits my great eſteem? pray Sir, what amends ſhall I make you?" He replied, "I know not what amends you are willing to make, becauſe you may have ſome doubts of its certainty: but, to convince you of the truth of what I ſay, I have one offer to make to you. On board one of the Engliſh ſhips, I have nineteen months pay due to me, and this Dutchman that is with me has ſeven months pay due to him, which if you will make good to us, we will go along with you. If you ſhall find, that there is nothing in what we have ſaid, then we ſhall deſire nothing: but when you are convinced that we have ſaved the ſhip, your life, and the lives of the men, we will leave the whole to your generoſity."

So reaſonable did this every way appear, that I immediately conſented, and we went directly on board. As ſoon as we came on board, my partner calls joyfully out, "That they had ſtopped the leak!" "Well, thank God," ſaid I, "but pray let us weigh anchor forthwith. "Weigh!" ſaid he, "what is the meaning of this hurry?" "Pray aſk no queſtions," ſaid I, "but all hands to work,

without loſing a moment's time:" Upon which, in great ſurpriſe, the Captain was called, who immediately ordered the anchor to be got up; and though the tide was not quite down, yet, being aſſiſted with a little land breeze, we ſtood to ſea. I then called my partner into the cabin, and related the ſtory at large, which was confirmed and more amplified by the two men I had brought on board. Scarce had we finiſhed our diſcourſe, upon this head, but a ſailor came to the cabin door, with a meſſage from the Captain, that we were chaſed by five ſloops full of armed men. "Very well," ſaid I, "it is plain now there is ſomething in it. And ſo, going upon deck, I told all the men there was a deſign for ſeizing the ſhip, and of executing us for pirates; and aſked them whether they would faithfully ſtand by us, and by one another?" To which they unanimouſly replied, "that they would fight to their laſt drop of blood." I then aſked the Captain, which way he thought beſt for us to manage the battle? "Sir," ſaid he, "the only method is to keep them off with our great ſhot as long as we are able, and then have recourſe to our ſmall arms; and when both theſe fail us, then retire to cloſe quarters, when perhaps the enemy, wanting materials, can neither break open our bulk heads, nor get in upon us." Mean time the gunner was ordered to bring two guns to bear fore and aft out of the ſteerage, and ſo load them with muſket bullets and ſmall pieces of old iron; and the deck being cleared we prepared for the engagement, ſtill, however, keeping out at ſea. The boats followed us with all the ſail they could make, and we could perceive the two foremoſt were Engliſh, which outſailed the reſt by two leagues, and which we found would come up with us: hereupon, we fired a gun without ball, intimating that they ſhould bring to, and we put out a flag of truce, as a ſignal for parley; but finding them crouding after us, till they came within ſhot, we took in our white, and hanging out the red flag, immediately fired at them with ball: we then called to them with a ſpeaking trumpet, bidding them at their peril keep off.

But all this ſignified nothing; for depending upon the ſtrength that followed them, they were reſolutely bent for miſchief: hereupon I ordered them to bring the ſhip to, by which means, they lying upon our broadſide, we let fly at them at once, one of whom carried away the ſtern of the hindermoſt boat, and obliged them not only to take

down their ſail, but made them all run to the head of the boat to keep them from ſinking; and ſo ſhe lay by, having enough of it. In the mean time, we prepared to welcome the foremoſt boat in the ſame manner. While we were doing this, one of the three hindermoſt boats came up to the relief of that which was diſabled, and took the men out of her. We again called to parley with them; but, inſtead of an anſwer, one of the boats came cloſe under our ſtern; whereupon our gunner let fly his two chaſe guns, but miſſing, the men in the boat ſhouted, and waving their caps, came on with greater fury. To repair this ſeeming diſgrace, the gunner ſoon got ready, and, firing the ſecond time, did a great deal of miſchief among the enemy. We waved again, and, bringing our quarter to bear upon them, fired three guns more, when we found the boat a ſinking, and ſeveral men already in the ſea; hereupon, manning our pinnace, I gave orders to ſave as many as they could, and inſtantly to come on board, becauſe the reſt of their boats were approaching: accordingly they did ſo, and took up three of them, one of whom was almoſt paſt recovery; and then crouding all the ſail we could, after our men came on board, we ſtood out farther to ſea, ſo that the other three boats gave over their chace, when they came up to the firſt two. Thus delivered from imminent danger, we changed our courſe to the eaſtward, quite out of the courſe of all European ſhips.

Being now at ſea, and inquiring more particularly of the two ſeamen, the meaning of all this, the Dutchman, at once let us into the ſecret. He told us, that the fellow who ſold us the ſhip was an errant thief, who had run away with her: that the Captain was treacherouſly murdered on the coaſt of Molucca by the natives there, with three of his men; that he, the Dutchman, and four more, being obliged to have recourſe to the woods for their ſafety, at length eſcaped by means of a Dutch ſhip, in its way to China, which had ſent their boat on ſhore for freſh water: That, after this, he went to Batavia, where two of the ſeamen belonging to the ſhip (who had deſerted the reſt in their travels) arrived, and there gave an account that the fellow who ran away the ſhip had ſold her at Bengal to a ſet of pirates, who went a cruiſing, and had already taken one Engliſh, and two Dutch ſhips richly laden.

Now though this was abſolutely falſe, my partner truly ſaid, that our deliverance was to be eſteemed ſo

much the more, by reaſon, had we fallen into their hands we could have expected nothing from them but immediate death, conſidering our accuſers would have been our judges; and, therefore, his opinion was, to return directly to Bengal where, being known, we could prove how honeſtly we came by the ſhip, of whom we bought her, and the like, and where we were ſure of ſome juſtice; at leaſt would not be hanged firſt, and judged afterwards. I was at firſt of my partner's opinion; but when I had more ſeriouſly conſidered of the matter, I told him we ran a great hazard in attempting to return, being on the wrong ſide of the ſtraits of Molucca, and that if, upon alarm given, we ſhould be taken by the Dutch at Batavia or Engliſh elſewhere, our running away would be a ſufficient evidence to condemn us. This danger indeed ſtartled not only my partner, but likewiſe all the ſhip's company; ſo we changed our former reſolution, and reſolved to go to the coaſt of Tonquin, and ſo to that of China, where, purſuing our firſt deſign as to trade, we might likewiſe have an opportunity to diſpoſe of the ſhip ſome way or other, and to return to Bengal in any country veſſel we could procure. This being agreed to, we ſteered away N. N. E. about 50 leagues off the uſual courſe to the eaſt, which put us to ſome inconveniences. As the wind blew ſteadily againſt us, our voyage became more tedious, and we began to be afraid of want of proviſions; and what was ſtill worſe, we apprehend, that as thoſe ſhips, from whoſe boats we had eſcaped, were bound to China, they might get before us, and have given freſh information, which might create another vigorous purſuit. Indeed, I could not help being grieved, when I conſidered that I who had never wronged or defrauded any perſon in my life, was now purſued like a common thief; and, if taken, to run the greateſt danger of being executed as ſuch; and, though innocent, I found myſelf under the neceſſity of flying for my ſafety; and thereby eſcape being brought to ſhame, of which I was even more afraid than of death itſelf. It was eaſy to read my dejection in my countenance. My mind was oppreſſed, like thoſe unhappy innocent perſons, who, being overpowered by blaſphemous and perjured evidences, wickedly reſolved to take away their lives, or ruin their reputation, have no other recourſe in this world to eaſe their ſorrow, but ſighs, prayers, and tears. My partner ſeeing me ſo concerned, encouraged me as well as he could;

and, after deſcribing to me the ſeveral ports of that coaſt, he told me, he would either put me in on the coaſt of Cochinchina, or elſe in the bay of Tonquin, from whence we might go to Macao, a town once poſſeſſed by the Portugueſe, and where ſtill many European families reſided.

To this place we ſteered, and, early next morning, came in ſight of the coaſt; but thought it adviſeable to put into a ſmall river where we could, either over land, or by the ſhip's pinnace, know what veſſels were in any ports thereabouts. This happy ſtep proved our deliverance; for, next morning, there came to the bay of Tonquin two Dutch ſhips, and a third, without any colours; and in the evening, two Engliſh ſhips ſteered the ſame courſe. The river where we were was but ſmall, and run but a few leagues up the country northward; the country was wild and barbarous, and the people thieves, having no correſpondence with any other nation, dealing only in fiſh, oil, and ſuch groſs commodities; and one barbarous cuſtom they ſtill retained, that when any veſſel was unhappily ſhipwrecked upon their coaſt, they make the men priſoners or ſlaves; ſo that now we might fairly ſay we were ſurrounded by enemies both by ſea and land.

As the ſhip had been leaky, we took the opportunity, in this place, to ſearch her, and to ſtop up the places which let in the water. We accordingly lightened her, and bringing our guns and other moveable things to one ſide, we eſſayed to bring her down, that we might come to her bottom: but, upon ſecond conſideration, we did not think it ſafe to let her lie on dry ground, neither indeed was the place convenient for it. The inhabitants, not uſed to ſuch a ſight as to ſee a ſhip lie down on one ſide, and heel in towards the ſhore, and not perceiving her men, who were at work on her bottom, with ſtages and boats on the off ſide, preſently imagined the ſhip had been caſt away, and lay faſt on the ground. Agreeable to this ſuppoſition, they ſurrounded us with ten or twelve large boats, with a reſolution, undoubtedly, to plunder the ſhip, and to carry away thoſe they found alive for ſlaves to their king. But when they perceiued our men hard at work on the ſhip's bottom and ſide, waſhing, graving, and ſtopping her, it filled them all with ſuch ſurpriſe, that they ſtood gazing as though they were confounded. Nor could we imagine what their deſign was; however, for fear of danger, we handed down arms and ammunition, to thoſe

at work, in order to defend themſelves; and, indeed, this precaution was abſolutely neceſſary; for, in a quarter of an hour after, the natives, concluding it was really a ſhipwreck, and that we were ſaving our lives and goods, which they thought belonged to them, came down upon our men, as though it had been in line of battle. We lay at preſent but in a very unfit poſture to fight; and before the ſtages could be got down, or the men in the boat come on board as they were ordered, the Cochinchineſes were upon them, and two of their boats boarding our long-boat, they began to lay hold of our men as priſoners. The firſt they ſeized was a ſtout Engliſh ſailor, who never fired his muſket, like a fool as I imagined, but laid it down in the boat: but he knew what he was doing; for, by main force he dragged the Pagan out of the boat into ours by the two ears, and knocked his brains out againſt the boat's gunnel: a Dutchman that was next him ſnatched up the muſket, and knocked down five more with the butt-end of it; however, this was doing very little to their number; but a ſtrange unexpected accident, which rather merits laughter than any thing elſe, gave our men a complete victory over them.

It ſeems the carpenter, who was preparing to grave the outſide of the ſhip, as well as to pay the ſeams, where he caulked to ſtop the leaks, had gotten two kettles juſt let down in the boat, one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with roſin, tallow, oil, and ſuch ſtuff as the ſhipwrights uſe: the carpenter's man had a great iron laddle with which he uſed to ſupply the workmen with hot ſtuff, and as two of the enemies entered the boat where the fellow ſtood, he ſaluted them with a full laddle of the hot boiling liquor, which, the poor creatures being half naked, made them roar out, and jump into the ſea. "Well done Jack," ſays the carpenter, "give them the other doſe:" and ſo ſtepping forward himſelf, takes a mop, and dipping it into the pitch pot, he and his man ſo plentifully flung it among them, as that none eſcaped being ſcalded; upon which they all made the beſt of their way, crying and howling in ſuch a frighful manner, that, in all my adventures, I never heard the like. And, indeed, never was I better pleaſed with any conqueſt than I was with this, there being ſo little bloodſhed, and having an averſion to killing ſuch ſavage wretches, (more than was neceſſary as knowing they came on errands, which their laws and cuſtoms

made them think were juſt and equitable. By this time, all things being in order, and the ſhip ſwimming, they found their miſtake, ſo they did not venture a ſecond attack. Thus ended our merry fight; and, having got rice, bread, roots, and ſixteen good hogs, on board the day before we ſet ſail, not daring to go into the bay of Tonquin, but ſteered N. E. towards the iſle of Formoſa, or as tho' we would go to the Manillas, or Phillippine iſlands, for fear of meeting with any European ſhips, when we anchored at the iſle Formoſa, the inhabitants, not only courteouſly ſupplied us with proviſions and freſh water, but dealt very fairly and honeſtly with us in their bargains and agreements. From this place we ſteered north, keeping ſtill off the coaſt of China, till we were beyond all its ports where European ſhips uſually come; and, at length, being come to the latitude of thirty degrees, we reſolved to put into the firſt trading port we ſhould come at; and ſtanding for the ſhore, a boat came off two leagues to us, with an old Portugueſe pilot on board, who offered his ſervice; we very gladly accepted him, and ſent the boat back again. And now, having the old man on board, I talked to him of going to Nanquin, the moſt northward part of the coaſt of China. "What will you do there?" ſaid he, ſmiling. "I told him we would ſell our cargo, and purchaſe callicoes, raw and wrought ſilks, tea, &c. and ſo return the ſame way back." "O," ſaid he, "you had better put in at Macao, where you may buy China wares as cheap as at Nanquin, and ſell your opium at a greater advance." "But," ſaid I, we are gentlemen, as well as merchants, and deſign to ſee the great city of Pekin, and the magnificent court of the monarch of China." "Why, then," ſaid he, "you ſhould go to Ningpo, where there is a navigable river that goes through the heart of that vaſt empire, two hundred and ſeventy leagues from the ſea, which croſſes all the rivers, paſſes conſiderable hills, by the help of the ſluices and gates, and goes even up to the city of Pekin. You may go to Nanquin, if you pleaſe, and travel to Pekin, and there is a Dutch ſhip juſt before bound that way." At the name of a Dutch or Engliſh ſhip, I was ſtruck with confuſion; they being as great a terror to me in this veſſel, as an Algerine man of war is to them in the Mediterranean. The old man finding me troubled, "Sir," ſaid he, "I hope the Dutch are not now at war with your nation." 'No," ſaid I, but God knows what liberty they may

take when out of the reach of the law." "Why," ſays he, "what occaſion is there for peaceable merchants to fear? For, believe me, they never meddle with any but PIRATES."

At the mentioning the word *pirates*, my countenance turned to that of ſcarlet; nor was it poſſible for me to conceal it from the old pilot; who taking notice of it, "Sir," ſaid he, "take what courſe you pleaſe, I'll do you all the ſervice I can." "Seignior," ſaid I, "I am a little concerned at your mentioning pirates; I hope there are none ſuch in theſe ſeas, becauſe you ſee in what weak condition we are to defend ourſelves," "O, Sir," ſaid he, "if that's all, don't be concerned, I don't remember one in theſe ſeas theſe fifteen years, except about a month ago one was ſeen in the bay of Siam, but ſhe is gone to the ſouthward; neither was ſhe built for a privateer, but was run away with by a reprobate captain, and ſome of his men, the right Captain having been murdered by the Malayans."

"What!" ſaid I, (as though ignorant of what had happened) "did they kill the Captain?" "No," ſaid he, "it is generall thought the Malayans murdered him; but perhaps they might procure them to do it, and therefore they juſtly deſerve hanging. The rogues were lately diſcovered in the bay of Siam, in the river of Cambodia, by ſome Dutchmen who belonged to the ſhip, and had much ado to eſcape the five boats that purſued them, but they have ſolemnly ſworn to give no quarter to the Captain or the ſeamen, but hang them every one up at the yard-arm, without any formal buſineſs of bringing them to a court of judicature."

Being ſenſible, that, having the old man on board, he was incapable of doing me any miſchief, "Well," Seignior, ſaid I, "it is for this very reaſon I would have you carry us up to Nanquin, where neither Engliſh nor Dutch ſhips come: and I muſt tell you, their Captains are a parcel of raſh, proud, inſolent raſcals, that neither know what belongs to juſtice, nor how to behave themſelves as the laws of God or nature direct: fellows that would prove murderers to puniſh robbers, and take upon them to adjudge innocent men to death, without any proof to prove them guilty; but perhaps I may live to call them to account for it, in a place where they may be taught how juſtice is to be executed." And ſo I told him all the ſtory of buying the ſhip, and how we were ſaved by the means o-

two men: that the murder of the Captain by the Malayans, as alſo the running away with the ſhip, I believe to be true; but that we, who bought it, were turned pirates, was a mere fiction, to cover their cowardice and fooliſh behaviour, when they attacked us, and the blood of thoſe men we killed in our own juſt defence, lay at their door, who ſent to attack us by ſurpriſe.

"Sir," ſaid the old man amazed, "you have taken the right courſe to ſteer to the north, and, if I might adviſe you, I would have you ſell your ſhip in China, and buy or build another in that country; and I'll procure people to buy the one and ſell the other." "Well but, Seignior," ſaid I, "if I ſell the ſhip in this manner, I may bring ſome innocent perſons into the ſame danger as I have gone through, perhaps worſe, even death itſelf, whereby I ſhould be as guilty of their murder as their villainous executioners." "That need not trouble you," ſays the old man, "I'll find a way to prevent that; for theſe commanders you talk of I know very well, and will inform them rightly of the matter as you have related, and I am perſuaded they will not only believe me, but act more cautiouſly for the future." "And will you deliver one meſſage from me to them?" "Yes," ſaid he, "if you will give it under your hand, that I may prove it is not of my own production." Hereupon I wrote a large account of their attacking me in their long boat, the pretended reaſon and unjuſt deſign of it; that they had done what they might be aſhamed of, and could not anſwer for at any tribunal in England. But this letter was writ in vain. Providence ordered things another way. We ſailed directly for Nanquin, and in about thirteen days ſail, came to an anchor at the ſouth weſt point of the great gulph of that place, where we learned, that two Dutch ſhips were gone the length before us, and that we ſhould certainly fall into their hands. We were all at a great loſs in this exigency, and would very gladly have been on ſhore almoſt any where; but our old pilot told me, that if I would ſail to the ſouthward about two and forty leagues, there was a little port called Quinchange, where no European ſhips ever came, and where we might conſider what was further to be done. Accordingly we weighed anchor the next day, calling only twice on ſhore by the way to get freſh water. The country people very courteouſly ſold us roots, tea, rice, fowls, and other proviſions. After five

days ſail we came to the port, and landed with unſpeakable joy. We reſolved to diſpoſe of ourſelves and effects in any other way poſſible, than enter on board that ill fated veſſel more; for no ſtate can be more miſerable than a continued fear, which is a life of death, a confounder of our underſtandings, that ſets the imagination at work to form a thouſand frightful things that may never happen. And we ſcarce ſlept one night, without dreaming of halters, yard-arms, or gibbets, of fighting, being taken, and being killed. nay, ſo violent were our apprehenſions, that we would bruiſe our hands and heads againſt the ſides of the cabin as tho' actually engaged. The ſtory of the Dutch cruelty at Amboyna often came into our thoughts when awake; and, for my part, I thought my condition very hard, that after ſo many difficulties, and ſuch ſignal deliverances, I ſhould be hanged in my old age, though innocent of any crime that deſerved ſuch puniſhment; but then religion would ſeem to repreſent to me, as though the voice of it had ſaid, conſider, O man! what ſins you have been formerly guilty of; which now thou art called to an account for, to expiate with thy blood! And as to thy innocence, what art thou more innocent than thy bleſſed Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, who ſuffered for thy offences, and to whoſe providence you ought to ſubmit let what will happen? after this, natural courage would inſpire me to reſiſt to the laſt drop of blood, and ſooner die than ſuffer myſelf to be taken by booriſh, raſcally Dutchmen, who had arts to torment beyond death itſelf.

But now, thank kind Heaven, being aſhore, our old pilot procured us a lodging and a warehouſe for our goods; it was a little hut with a large warehouſe joining to it, all built with canes, and palliſadoed round with large ones, to keep out pilfering thieves, which are very numerous in that country. The magiſtrates allowed us a little guard during the night, and we employed a centinel with a kind of halbert for three pence a day. The fair, or mart, we found, had been over for ſome time; however, their remained in the river four junks and two Japan ſhips, the merchants of the latter being on ſhore. In the firſt place, our old pilot brought us acquainted with the miſſionary Roman prieſts, who were converting the people to Chriſtianity: two of them were reſerved, rigid, and auſtere, applying themſelves to the work they came about with great earneſtneſs; but the third, who was a Frenchman,

called Father Simon, was of a freer converſation, not ſeemingly ſo ſerious and grave, yet no worſe Chriſtian than the other two, one of whom was a Portugueſe, and the other a Genoeſe. Father Simon, it ſeems, was appointed to go to Pekin, the royal ſeat of the Emperor of the Chineſe; and he only waited for another prieſt, who was ordered from Macao to accompany him. We never met together, but he was prompting me to accompany him in that journey: "Sir," ſaid he, "I will ſhew you the glorious things of this mighty empire, and a city, the city of Pekin, far exceeding London or Paris, put them both together. One day in particular, being at dinner with him, I ſhewed ſome inclination to go; which made him preſs the more upon me and my partner, to gain our perfect conſent. "But Father Simon," ſaid my partner, "what ſatisfaction can you have in our company whom you eſteem as heretics, and conſequently objects not worthy your regard?" "Oh!" ſaid he, "you may be as good Catholics in time as thoſe I hope to convert to our religion." "And ſo," ſaid I, "we ſhall have you preaching to us all the way, inſtead of pleaſing us with a deſcription of the country," "Sir," ſaid he, "however our religion may be villified by ſome people, it is very certain it neither diveſts us of good manners or Chriſtian charity; and as we are gentlemen, as ſuch we may converſe together, without making one another uneaſy."

But we ſhall leave him a while, to conſider our ſhip and the merchandiſe which we had to diſpoſe of. There was but very little trade in the place where we were; and I was once reſolved to venture to ſail to the river Kilam, and ſo to the city of Nanquin: but Providence ordered it otherwiſe, by our old pilot's bringing a Japan merchant to us, to ſee what goods we had. He immediately bought our opium, for which he gave us a very good price in gold by weight, ſome wedges of which were about ten or eleven ounces. It came into my head that perhaps he might buy the ſhip too; and I ordered his interpreter to propoſe it to him. He ſaid nothing then, but ſhrugged up his ſhoulders; yet in a few days after he came accompanied by a miſſionary prieſt, who was his interpreter, with this propoſal, "That as he had bought a great quantity of our goods, he had not money enough to purchaſe our ſhip; but if I pleaſed he would hire her, with all my men, to go to Japan, and from thence with another loading to the Phillippine

iſlands, the freight of both which he would very willingly pay to us before; and at their return to Japan, would buy the ſhip." Upon this we aſked the Captain and his men, if they were willing to go to Japan; to which they unanimouſly agreed. While this was in agitation, the young man my nephew left to attend me, told me, "That as I did not care to accept this proſpect of advantage, he would manage it for me as I pleaſed, and render me a faithful account of his ſucceſs, which ſhould be wholly mine." Indeed I was very unwilling to part with him; but conſidering it might be for the young man's good. I diſcourſed with my partner about it, who, of his own generoſity, gave him his ſhare of the veſſel, ſo that I could do no otherwiſe than give him mine: but, however, we let him have but the property of half of it, and preſerved a power, that when we met in England, if he had obtained ſucceſs, he ſhould account to us for one half of the profits of the ſhip's freight, and the other ſhould be his own. Thus having taken a writing under his hand, away he ſailed to Japan, where the merchant dealt very honeſtly by him, got him a licence to come on ſhore, ſent him loaded to the Phillippines with a Japaneſe ſupercago, from whence he came back again loaded with European goods, cloves, and other ſpiceries. By this voyage he cleared a conſiderable ſum of money, which determined him not to ſell his ſhip, but to trade on his own account: ſo he returned to the Manillas, where, getting acquaintance, he made his ſhip free, was hired by the governor privately to go to Acapulco in America, on the Mexican coaſt, with a licence to travel to the great city of Mexico. This traffic turned out greatly to account, and my friend finding means to get to Jamaica, returned nine years after exceeding rich into England.

In parting with the ſhip, it comes in courſe to conſider of thoſe men who had ſaved our lives when in the river of Cambodia; and thou h, by the way, they were a couple of rogues, who thought to turn pirates themſelves, yet we paid them what they had before demanded, and gave each of them a ſmall ſum of money, making the Engliſhman a gunner, and the Dutchman a boatſwain, with which they were very well contented.

We were now about 1000 leagues farther from home, than when at Bengal. All the comfort we could expect was, that there being another fair to be kept in a month's time, we might not only purchaſe all ſorts of that coun-

try's manufactures, but very poſſibly find ſome Chineſe junks, or veſſels from Tonquin, to be ſold, which would carry us and our goods whereſoever we pleaſed. Upon theſe hopes, we reſolved to continue; and, to divert ourſelves, we took ſeveral little journies in the country. About ten days after we parted with our ſhip, we travelled to ſee the city of Nanquin. This city lies in latitude 30 degrees north of the line: it is regularly built, and the ſtreets are exactly ſtraight, and croſs one another in direct lines, which ſets it out to the greateſt advantage. At our return, we found the prieſt was come from Macao that was to accompany father Simon to Pekin. That father earneſtly ſolicited me to accompany him, and I referred him to my partner. In ſhort, we both agreed, and prepared accordingly; and we were ſo lucky as to have liberty to travel among the retinue of one of their Mandarins, who is a principal magiſtrate, and much reverenced by the people.

We were five and twenty days travelling through this miſerable country, infinitely populous, but as indifferently cultivated: and yet their pride is infinitely greater than their poverty, inſomuch that the prieſts themſelves derided them. As we paſſed by the houſe of one of their country gentlemen, two leagues off Nanquin, we had the honour forſooth, to ride with the Chineſe ſquire about two miles. Never was Don Quixote ſo exactly imitated! Never ſuch a compound of pomp and poverty ſeen before!

His habit, made of callico, was dirty, greaſy, and very proper for a Merry Andrew or Scaramouch, with all its tawdry trappings, as hanging ſleeves, taſſels, &c though torn and rent in almoſt every part: his veſt underneath it was no leſs dirty, but more greaſy, reſembling the moſt exquiſite ſloven or greaſy butcher. His horſe (worſe than Roſinante, or the famous ſteed of doughty Hudibras) was a poor ſtarved decrepid thing, that would not ſell for thirty ſhillings in England: and yet this piece of worſhipful pomp was attended with ten or twelve ſlaves, who guarded their maſter to his country-ſeat. We ſtopped at a little village for refreſhment; and when we came by the country-ſeat of this great man, we found him ſitting under a tree before his door, eating a meſs of boiled rice, with a great piece of garlic in the middle, and a bag filled with green pepper by him, and another plant like ginger, together with a piece of lean mutton in it: this was his worſhip's repaſt; but

pray obſerve the ſtate of the fool! two women ſlaves brought him his food, which being laid before him, two others appeared to perform their reſpective offices; one fed him with a ſpoon, while the other ſcraped off what fell upon his beard and taffety veſt, and gave it to a particular favourite to eat. And thus we left the wretch pleaſed with the conceit of our admiring his magnificence, which rather merited our ſcorn and deteſtation.

At length we arrived at the great city of Pekin, accompanied by two ſervants, and the old Portugueſe pilot, whoſe charges we bore, and who ſerved us as an interpreter by the way. We had ſcarce been a week at Pekin, but he comes laughing to us, "Ah! Seignior Ingliſe," ſaid he, "me ſomething tell you make your heart glad, but make me ſorry: for you bring me here twenty-five days journey, and now you leave me go back alone; and which way ſhall I make my port after without de ſhip, without de horſe, without pecune?" ſo he called money in his broken Latin. He then informed me, that there was a great caravan of Muſcovite and Poliſh merchants in the city, who were preparing to ſet out for Muſcovy by land within ſix weeks; and, that he was certain we would take this opportunity, and conſequently that he muſt go home by himſelf. Indeed this news infinitely ſurpriſed and pleaſed me. "Are you certain of this?" ſaid I. "Yes, Sir," ſaid he, "me ſure its true." And ſo he told me, that having met an old acquaintance of his, an Armenian in the ſtreet, who was among them, and who had come from Aſtracan, with a deſign to go to Tonquin, but for certain reaſons having altered his reſolution, he was now reſolved to go with the caravan, and to return by the river Wolga to Aſtracan. "Well Seignior," ſaid I, "don't be diſcontented about your returning alone; and, if by this means I can find a paſſage to England, it will be your own fault if you return to Macao at all. And ſo conſulting with my partner, what was beſt to be done, he referred it to me as I pleaſed, having our affairs ſo well ſettled at Bengal, that, if we could convert the good voyage we had made in China ſilks, wrought or raw, he would be ſatisfied to go to England, and ſo return to Bengal in the Company's ſhips. Thus reſolved, we agreed that if our pilot would go with us, we would bear his charges either to Moſcow, or England; and to give him in a preſent the ſum of one hundred and ſeventy pounds

ſterling. Hereupon we called him in, and told him the cauſe of his complaint ſhould be removed, if he would accompany us with the caravans; and, therefore, we deſired to know his mind. At this he ſhook his head, "Great long journey," ſaid he, "me no pecune, carry me to Moſcow, or keep me there." But we ſoon put him out of that concern, by making him ſenſible of what we would give him here to lay out to the beſt advantage; and, as for his charges, we would ſet him ſafe on ſhore, God willing, either in Moſcovy, or England, as he pleaſed, at our own charge, except the carriage of his goods. At this propoſal, he was like a man tranſported, telling us, he would go with us all the world over; and we made preparations for our journey: but it was near four months before all the merchants were ready.

In the mean time, my partner and the pilot went expreſs to the port where we firſt put in, to diſpoſe of what goods had been left there, while I accompanied a Chineſe merchant who was going to Nanquin, and there bought twenty-nine pieces of damaſk, with about three hundred more of other fine ſilks; and, by the time my partner returned to Pekin, I had them all carried thither: our cargo in ſilks amounted to 4500l ſterling, which, together with tea, fine calicoes, nutmegs, and cloves, loaded eighteen camels for our ſhare, beſides what we rode upon, with two or three ſpare horſes, and two more loaden with proviſions; the company now was very great, making about four hundred horſe, and above one hundred and twenty men, well armed and provided. We were of ſeveral nations, among whom were five Scotch merchants, inhabiting in Moſcow, and well experienced in trade.

We ſet out from Pekin the beginning of February our ſtyle; and in two days more, we paſſed through the gate of the great China wall, which was erected as a fortification againſt the Tartars being one hundred Engliſh miles long. We then entered a country not near ſo populous, chiefly under the power of plundering Tartars, ſeveral companies of whom we perceived riding on poor ſtarved horſes, contemptible as themſelves, without order or diſcipline. One time our leader, for the day gave us leave to go a hunting; but what do you think we hunted? only a parcel of ſheep, which indeed exceeded any in the world for wildneſs and ſwiftneſs; but while we were purſuing this game, it was our chance to meet with about forty Tartars,

who no ſooner perceived us, but one of them blew a horn, at the ſound of which there ſoon appeared a troop of forty or fifty more, at about a mile's diſtance. Hereupon, one of the Scots merchants (who knew their ways) ordered us to advance towards them, and attack them immediately. As we advanced, they let fly a volley of arrows, which happily fell a little ſhort of us; this made us halt a little, to return the compliment with bullets; and then being led up by the bold Scot, we fired our piſtols in their faces, and drew out our ſwords; but there was no occaſion; for they flew like timorous ſheep, and only three of them remained, beckoning to the reſt to come back. But our brave commander gallops up to them by himſelf, ſhot one dead, knoked another off his horſe, while the third ran away; and thus ended our battle with the Tartars.

We travelled a month more through the Emperor of China's dominions; and at length coming to one of their towns about a day and a half's journey from the city of Naum, I wanted to buy a camel. The perſon I ſpoke to would have brought me one, but, like a fool, I muſt go along with him, about two miles from the village. My old pilot and I walked on foot, forſooth, for ſome variety, when coming to the place where the camels were kept as in a park guarded by Chineſe ſoldiers, we there agreed and bought one, which the Chineſe man that came along with me led along the road. But we had not gone far, before we were attacked by five Tartars, mounted on horſeback, two of whom ſeized the man, took the camel from him, and rode away, while the other three approached us, the firſt of whom ſuddenly ſeized me as I was drawing my ſword, the ſecond knocked me down, but my old truſty Portugueſe, taking a piſtol out of his pocket, which I knew nothing of, and coming up to the fellow that ſtruck me, he with one hand pulled him off his horſe, and then ſhot him dead upon the ſpot; then taking his ſcymitar, he ſtruck at the man that ſtopt us, but miſſing him, cut off one of his horſe's ears, the pain of which made him throw his rider to the ground. The poor Chineſe who had led the camel, ſeeing the Tartar down, runs to him, and ſeizing upon his pole-axe, wrenched it from his hands, and knocked his brains out. But there was another Tartar to deal with, who ſeeming neither inclined to fight nor fly, and my old man having begun to charge his piſtol, the very ſight of it ſtruck ſuch a terror into the wretch, that away

he ſcoured, leaving my old pilot, rather my champion and defender, an abſolute victory.

By this time being awakened from my trance, I began to open my eyes, wondering where I was, having quite forgot all that paſſed; but my ſenſes returning, and feeling a great pain in my head, and ſeeing the blood was running over my clothes, I inſtantly jumped upon my feet, and graſped my ſword in my hand, with a reſolution to take revenge; but no enemies now remained, except the dead Tartar, with his horſe ſtanding by him. The old man ſeeing me recovered, whom he thought ſlain, ran towards me, and embraced me with the greateſt tenderneſs, at the ſame time examining into my wound, which was far from being mortal. When we returned to the village, the man demanded payment for his camel, which I refuſing, we brought the cauſe before a Chineſe judge, who acted with great impartiality: Having heard both ſides, he aſked the Chineſe man that went with me, whoſe ſervant he was? "Sir," ſaid he, "I am nobody's, but went with the ſtranger at his requeſt:" "Why then," ſaid the judge, "you were the ſtranger's ſervant for the time, and the camel being delivered to his ſervant, it is the ſame as tho' delivered to himſelf, and accordingly he muſt pay for it." Indeed, the caſe was ſo fairly ſtated, that I had nothing to object to it; ſo, having paid for that I was robbed of, I ſent for another, but did not go myſelf to fetch if, as I had enough of that ſport before.

The city of Naum is a frontier of the Chineſe empire, ſo fortified, as ſome will tell you, that millions of Tartars cannot batter down their walls; by which certainly one might think one of our cannons would do more execution than all their legions.

When we were within a day's march of that city, we had information that the governor had ſent meſſengers to every part of the road, to inform the travellers and caravans to halt, till a guard was ſent to protect them from the numerous bodies of Tartars that lately appeared about the city. This news put us into great conſternation; but, obeying the orders, we ſtopt; and two days after, there came two hundred ſoldiers from a garriſon of the Chineſe, and three hundred more from Naum; thus guarded both in the front and rear, with our own men on the flanks, we boldly advanced, thinking we were able to combat with ten thouſand Mogul Tartars, if they appeared.

Early next morning, in our march from a little well ſituated town called Changu, after having paſſed a river, and entered upon a deſert of about fifteen or ſixteen miles over, we ſoon beheld, by a cloud of duſt that was raiſed, that the enemy was approaching. This much diſpirited the Chineſe. My old pilot took notice of it, and called out, Seignior Ingliſe, thoſe fellows muſt be encouraged, or they will ruin us all; and I am afraid, if the Tartars attack us, they will all run away." "Why, Seignior," ſaid I, "what ſhall be done in this caſe?" "Done," ſays he, "why, let fifty of our men advance, and flank them on each wing. I know the fellows will fight well enough in company." We accordingly took his advice, and marched, fifty to the right wing, and the ſame number to the left, and with the reſt made a line of reſerve, leaving the laſt two hundred men to guard the camels, or to aſſiſt us as occaſion required.

Thus prepared, a party of the enemy came forward, viewing our poſture, and traverſing the ground on the front of our line. Hereupon, we ordered the two wings to move on, and give them a ſalute with their ſhot; which accordingly was done. This put a ſtop to their proceedings; for immediately wheeling off to their left, they all marched away, and we ſaw no more of them. They had undoubtedly given an account to their companions of what reception they might expect, which made them ſo eaſily give over their enterprize.

When we came to the city of Naum, we returned the governor hearty thanks, and diſperſed an hundred crowns among the ſoldiers that guarded us. We reſted there one day, and then proceed on our travels, paſſing ſeveral great rivers and deſerts; and on the 13th of April we came to the frontiers of Muſcovy, the firſt town of which was called Argun.

This happy occaſion, as I thought, of coming into a Chriſtian country, made me congratulate the Scots merchant upon it. He ſmiled at that, telling me not to rejoice too ſoon; "for," ſaid he, "except the Ruſſian ſoldiers in garriſon, and a few inhabitants of the cities upon the road, all the reſt of this country, for above a thouſand miles, is inhabited by the moſt ignorant and barbarous Pagans."

We advanced from the river Arguna, by moderate journies, and found convenient garriſons on the road, filled

with Chriſtian ſoldiers, for the ſecurity of commerce, and for the convenient lodgings of travellers: but the inhabitants of the country were mere Pagans, worſhipping the ſun, moon, and ſtars. We particularly obſerved this idolatry near the river Arguna, at a city inhabited by Tartars and Ruſſians, called Neriſinkey. Being curious to ſee their way of living, while the caravan continued to reſt themſelves in that city, I went to one of their villages, where there was to be one of their ſolemn ſacrifices. There I beheld, upon the ſtump of an old tree, an idol of wood, more ugly than the repreſentation of the devil himſelf: its head reſembled no living creature; its ears were as big and as high as goats horns, a crooked noſe, four cornered mouth; and horrible teeth: it was cloathed in ſheep ſkins, had a great Tartar bonnet, with two horns growing thro' it, and was eight feet high, without feet, legs, or proportion. Before this idol there lay ſixteen or ſeventen people, who brought their offerings, and were making their prayers, while at a diſtance ſtood three men, and one bullock, as victims to this ugly monſter.

Such ſtupendous ſacrilege as this, in robbing the true God of his honour, filled me with the greateſt aſtoniſhment and reflection: which ſoon turning to rage and fury, I rode up to the image, and cut in pieces the bonnet that was upon his head with my ſword, ſo that it hung down by one of the horns, while one of my men that was with me, pulled at it by his ſheep's ſkin garment. Immediately an hideous howling and outcry ran through the village, and two or three hundred people coming about our ears, we were obliged to fly for it.

But I had not done with the monſter; for the caravan being to reſt three nights in the town, I told the Scots merchant what I had ſeen, and that I was reſolved to take four or five men well armed with me, in order to deſtroy the idol, and ſhew the people how little reaſon they had to truſt in a God who could not ſave himſelf. At firſt he laughed at me, repreſenting the danger of it, and when it was deſtroyed, what time had we to preach to them better things, whoſe zeal and ignorance was in the higheſt degree, and both unparalleled? that if I ſhould be taken by them, I ſhould be ſerved as a poor ruffian, who contemned their worſhip; that is, to be ſtripped naked, and tied to the top of the idol, there ſhot at with arrows till my body was full of them, and then burnt as a ſacrifice to the monſter;

"but Sir," ſaid he, "ſince your zeal carries you ſo far, rather than you ſhould be alone I will accompany you, and bring a ſtout fellow equal to yourſelf, if you will, to aſſiſt you in this deſign: and accordingly he brought one Captain Richardſon, who, hearing the ſtory, readily conſented; but my partner declined it, being altogether out of his way: and ſo we three, and my ſervant, reſolved to execute this exploit about midnight; but upon ſecond thoughts we deferred it to the next night, by reaſon that the caravan being to go from thence next morning, we ſhould be out of the governor's power. The better to effectuate my deſign, I procured a Tartar's ſheep ſkin robe, a bonnet, with bow and arrows, and every one of us got the like habits. The firſt night we ſpent in mixing combuſtible matter with aqua vitæ, gunpowder, &c. having a good quantity of tar in a little pot: next night we came up to the idol about eleven o'clock, the moon being up. We found none guarding it; but we perceived a light in the houſe, where we had ſeen the prieſts before. One of our men was for firing the hut, another for killing the people, and a third for making them priſoners, while the idol was deſtroyed. We agreed to the latter; ſo knocking at the door, we ſeized the firſt that opened it, and ſtopping his mouth and tying his feet, we left him. We ſerved the other two in the like manner; and then the Scots merchant ſet fire to the compoſition, which frightened them ſo much, that we brought them all away priſoners to their wooden god. There we fell to work with him, daubing him all over with tar mixed with tallow and brimſtone, ſtopping his eyes, ears, and mouth full of gunpowder, with a great piece of wild-fire in his bonnet, and environed it with dry forrage. All this being done, we unlooſed and ungagged the priſoners, and ſet the idol on fire, which the gunpowder blowing up, the ſhape of it was deformed, rent, and ſplit, which the forage utterly conſumed; for we ſtaid to ſee its deſtruction, leſt the ignorant idolatrous people ſhould have thrown themſelves into the flame. And thus we came away undiſcovered, in the morning appearing as buſy among our fellow travellers, as nobody could have ſuſpected any other, but that we had been in our beds all night.

Next morning we ſet out, and had gone but a ſmall diſtance from the city, when there came a multitude of people of the country to the gates of the city, demanding

ſatisfaction of the Ruſſian governor for inſulting their prieſts, and burning their great Cham Chi-Thaungu, who dwelt in the ſun, and no mortal would violate this image but ſome Chriſtian miſcreants; and being already no leſs than thirty thouſand ſtrong, they announced war againſt him and all his Chriſtians.

The governor aſſured them he was ignorant of the matter, and that none of his garriſon had been abroad; that indeed there was a caravan that went away that morning, and that he would ſend after them to inquire into it; and whoever was the offender, ſhould be delivered into their hands. This ſatisfied them for the preſent, but the governor ſent to inform us, that if any of us had done it, we ſhould make all the haſte away poſſible, while he kept them in play as long as he could. Upon this we marched two days and two nights, ſtopping but very little, till at laſt we arrived at a village called Plothus, and haſted to Jarawena, another of the Czar's colonies. On the third day, having entered the deſert, and paſſed the lake called Shaks Oſer, we beheld a numerous body of horſe on the other ſide of it to the north, who ſuppoſed we had paſſed on that ſide of the lake; but either having found their miſtake, or being certainly informed of the way we took, they came upon us towards the duſk of the evening, juſt as we had pitched our camp between two little but very thick woods, with a little river running before our front and ſome felled trees with which we covered our rear; a precaution we always took, and which we had juſt finiſhed when the enemy came up. They did not fall on us immediately, but ſent three meſſengers, demanding the men who had inſulted their prieſts, and burnt their god Cham Chi-Thaungu, that they might be burnt with fire, that if this was complied with, they would peaceably depart; but if not, they would deſtroy one and all of us. Our men ſtared at one another on receipt of this meſſage, but Nobody was the word, as indeed nobody knew it, but he who did it. Upon which the leader of the caravan returned for anſwer, "That they were peaceable merchants, who meddled with none of their prieſts and gods; and therefore deſired them not to diſturb us, and put us to the neceſſity of defending ourſelves." But ſo far was this from ſatisfying them, that the next morning coming to our right, they let fly a volley of arrows among us, which happily did not hurt any, becauſe we ſheltered ourſelves behind our baggage. We expected

however to come to a closer engagement; but were happily saved by a cunning fellow, a Cassock, who obtaining leave of the leader to go out, mounts his horse, rides directly from our rear, and taking a circuit, comes up to the Tartars, as though he had been sent express, and tells them a formal story, that the wretches who had burnt the Cham Chi-Thaungu, were gone to Shiheiika, with a resolution to burn the god Shal-Isar, belonging to the Tongueses. Upon which, believing this cunning Tartar, who was servant to our Moscovites, away they drove to Shiheilka, and in less than three minutes were out of sight, nor did we ever hear of them more.

When we came to the city of Jarawena, we rested five days, and then entered into a frightful desert, which held us twenty three days march, infested with several small companies of robbers, or Mogul Tartars, who never had the courage to attack us. After we had passed over this desert, we found several garrisons to defend the caravans from the violence of the Tartars: In particular the Governor of Adinskoy offered us a guard of fifty men to the next station, if we apprehended any danger. The people here retained the same paganism and barbarity, only they were not so dangerous, being conquered by the Muscovites. The clothing, both of men and women, is of the skins of beasts, living under the ground in vaults and caves, which have a communication with one another. They have idols almost in every family; besides, they adore the sun and stars, water and snow; and the least uncommon thing that happens in the elements, alarms them as much as thunder and lightning does the unbelieving Jews.

Nothing remarkable occurred in our march through this country. When we had gone through the desert, after two days farther travel, we came to Jenezoy, a Muscovite city, on the great river so called, which we were told, parted Europe from Asia. The inhabitants here were very little better, though intermixed with the Muscovites; but the wonder will cease, when I inform my reader of what was observed to me, that the Czar rather converts the Tartars with soldiers than clergymen, and is more proud to make them faithful subjects, than good Christians.

From this city to the river Oby, we travelled over a pleasant, fruitful, but very uncultivated country, for want of good management and people, and those few are mostly

Pagans. This is the place where the Muſcovite criminals are baniſhed to, if they are not put to death. The next city we came to, was the capital city of Siberia, called Tobolſki, when having been almoſt ſeven months on our journey, and winter drawing on apace, my partner and I conſulted about our particular affairs, in what manner we ſhould diſpoſe of ourſelves. We had been told of ſledges and rein deer to carry us over the ſnow in the winter ſeaſon, the ſnow being frozen ſo hard, that the ſledges can run upon the ſurface without any danger of going down. As I was bound to England, I now behoved either to go with the caravan to Jeroſlaw, from thence weſt to Marva, and the gulf of Finland, and ſo by land or ſea to Denmark; or elſe I muſt leave the caravan at a little town on the Dwina, and ſo to Archangel, where I was certain of ſhipping either to England, Holland, or Hamburgh. One night I happened to get into the company of an illuſtrious, but baniſhed Prince, whoſe company and virtues were ſuch as made me to propoſe to him a method how he might obtain his liberty. "My dear friend," ſaid he, "as I am here happily free from my miſerable greatneſs, with all its attendants of pride, ambition, avarice, and luxury, if I ſhould eſcape from this place, thoſe pernicious ſeeds may again revive, to my laſting diſquietude; therefore let me remain in a bleſſed confinement, for I am but fleſh, a mere man, with paſſions and affections as ſuch; O be not my friend and tempter too!" Struck dumb with ſurpriſe, I ſtood ſilent a while; nor was he leſs in diſorder, by which perceiving he wanted to give vent to his mind, I deſired him to conſider of it and ſo withdrew. But about two hours after he came to my apartment: "Dear friend," ſaid he, "though I cannot conſent to accompany you, I ſhall have this ſatisfaction in parting, that you leave me an honeſt man ſtill; but as a teſtimony of my affection to you, be pleaſed to accept this preſent of ſables."

In return for his compliment, I ſent my ſervant next morning to his Lordſhip with a ſmall preſent of tea, two pieces of China damaſk, and four little wedges of gold; but he only accepted the tea, one piece of damaſk, and one piece of gold, for the curioſity of the Japan ſtamp that was upon it. Not long after he ſent for me, and told me, that what he had refuſed himſelf, he hoped upon his account, I would grant to another, whom he ſhould name: In ſhort it was his only ſon, who was about two hundred

miles diſtant from him, on the other ſide of the Oby, whom he ſaid he would ſend for, if I gave my conſent. This I ſoon complied with; upon which he ſent his ſervants next day for his ſon, who returned in twenty days time, bringing ſeven horſes loaded with valuable furs. At night the young Lord was conducted incognito into our apartment, where his father preſented him to me. We then concerted the beſt ways for travelling, and after having bought a conſiderable quantity of ſables, black fox ſkins, fine ermines, &c. (which I ſold at Archangel at a good price) we ſet out from this city the beginning of June, making a ſmall caravan, being about thirty-two horſes and camels, of which I repreſented the head. My young Lord had with him a very faithful Siberian ſervant, well acquainted with the roads: We ſhunned the principal towns and cities, as Tumen, Soli-Kamoſkoi, and ſeveral others, by reaſon of their ſtrictneſs in examining travellers, leſt any of the baniſhed perſons of diſtinction ſhould eſcape. Having paſſed the river Kama, we came to a city on the European ſide, called Soloy Kamoſkoi, where we found the people moſtly Pagans as before. We then paſſed a deſert of about two hundred miles over; but in other places it is near ſeven hundred. In paſſing this wild place, we were beſet by a troop of men on horſeback, and about five and forty men armed with bows and arrows. At firſt they looked earneſtly on us, and then placed themſelves in our way. We were above ſixteen men, and drew up a little line before our camels. My young Lord ſent out his Siberian ſervant, to know who they were; but, when he approached them, he neither knew a word they ſaid, nor would they admit him to come near them at his peril, but prepared to ſhoot him. At his return, he told us he believed them to be Calmuck Tartars; and that there were more upon the deſert. This was but a ſmall comfort to us; yet ſeeing a little grove, about a quarter of a mile's diſtance, we moved to it, by the old Portugueſe pilot's advice, without meeting with any oppoſition. Here we found a marſhy piece of ground, and a ſpring of water running into a little brook on one ſide, which joined another like it a little farther off, and theſe two formed the head of the river called Writſka. As ſoon as we arrived, we went to work, cutting great arms off the trees, and laying them hanging (not quite off) from one tree to another. In this ſituation we waited the motion of the enemy, without per-

ceiving any advancement they made towards us. About two hours before night, being joined by ſome others, in all about fourſcore horſe, among whom we fancied were ſome women, they came upon us with great fury. We fired without ball, calling to them in the Ruſſian tongue, to know their buſineſs; but they, either not knowing, or ſeeming not to underſtand us, came directly to the wood ſide, not conſidering that we were ſo fortified, as that they could not break in. Our old pilot, the Portugueſe, proved both our captain and engineer, and deſired us not to fire, till they came within piſtol ſhot; and when he gave the word of command then to take the ſureſt aim: but he did not bid us give fire, till they were within two pikes length of us, and then we killed fourteen of them, wounded ſeveral, as alſo their horſes, having every one of us loaded our pieces with two or three bullets at leaſt. So much were they ſurpriſed at our undauntedneſs, that they retired about a hundred roods from us. In the mean while we loaded our pieces again, and ſallying out, ſecured four or five of their horſes, whoſe riders we found were killed, and perceived them to be Tartars. About an hour after, they made another attempt, to ſee where they might break in; but finding us ready to receive them, they retired.

All that night we wrought hard, in ſtrengthening our ſituation, and barricading the entrances into the woods; but when day-light came, we had a very unwelcome diſcovery; for, the enemy, being encouraged by their numbers, had ſet up eleven or twelve tents, in form of a camp, about three quarters of a mile from us. I muſt confeſs, I was never more concerned in my life, giving myſelf and all that I had over for loſt. And my partner declared, that as the loſs of his goods would be his ruin, before they ſhould be taken from him, he would fight to the laſt drop of his blood. As we could not pretend to force our way, we had recourſe to a ſtratagem; we kindled a large fire, which burnt all night; and no ſooner was it dark, but we purſued our journey towards the pole, or north ſtar, and travelling all night, by ſix o'clock in the morning we came to a Ruſſian village, called Kertza, and from thence, came to a large town named Ozonoys, where we heard that ſeveral troops of Calmuck Tartars had been abroad upon the deſert, but that we were paſt all danger. In five days after we came to Veuſlima, upon the river Witzedga; from thence we came to Lawrenſkoy, on the third of July,

where, providing ourſelves with two luggage boats, and a convenient bark, we embarked the ſeventh, and arrived at Archangel the eighteenth, after a year, five months, and three days journey, including the eight months and odd days at Tobolſki. We came from Archangel the twentieth of Auguſt in the ſame year, and arrived at Hamburgh the thirtieth of September. Here my partner and I made a very good ſale of our goods, both thoſe of China and Siberia; when dividing our effects, my ſhare came to 3475l 17s. 3d. after all the loſſes we had ſuſtained, and charges we had been at. Here the young Lord took his leave of me, in order to go to the court of Vienna, not only to ſeek protection, but to correſpond with his father's friends. After we had ſtaid four months in Hamburgh, I went from thence over land to the Hague, where embarking in the packet, I arrived in London the 10th of January 1705, after ten years and nine months abſence from England.

VISION of the ANGELIC WORLD.

CHAP. I. Of SOLITUDE.

HOWEVER ſolitude is looked upon as a reſtraint to the pleaſures of the world, in company and converſation, yet it is a happy ſtate of exemption from a ſea of trouble, an inundation of vanity and vexation, of confuſion and diſappointment. While we enjoy ourſelves, neither the joy nor ſorrow of other men affect us: We are then at liberty, with the voice of our ſoul, to ſpeak to God. By this we ſhun ſuch frequent trivial diſcourſe, as even becomes an obſtruction to virtue: and how often do we find that we had reaſon to wiſh we had not been in company, or ſaid nothing when we were there? for either we offend God by the impiety of our diſcourſe, or lay ourſelves open to the violence of deſigning people by our unguarded expreſſions; and frequently feel the coldneſs and treachery of pretended friends, when once involved in trouble and affliction; of ſuch unfaithful intimates (I ſhould ſay enemies) who rather by falſe inuendoes would accumulate miſeries upon us, than honeſtly aſſiſt us when under the hard hand

of adverſity. But in a ſtate of ſolitude, when our tongues cannot be heard, except by the great Majeſty of Heaven, how happy are we, in the bleſſed enjoyment of converſing with our Maker! It is then we make him our friend, which ſets us above the envy and contempt of wicked men. When a man converſes with himſelf, he is ſure that he does not converſe with an enemy. Our retreat ſhould be to good company, and good books. I mean not by ſolitude, that a man ſhould retire into a cell, a deſert, or a monaſtry: which would be altogether an uſeleſs and unprofitable reſtraint: for as men are formed for ſociety, and have an abſolute neceſſity and dependence upon one another; ſo there is a retirement of the ſoul, with which it converſes in heaven, even in the midſt of men; and indeed no man is more fit to ſpeak freely, than he who can, without any violence to himſelf, refrain his tongue, or keep ſilence altogether. As to religion, it is by this the ſoul gets acquainted with the hidden myſteries of the holy writings; here ſhe finds thoſe floods of tears, in which good men waſh themſelves day and night, and only makes a viſit to God, and his holy angels. In this converſation the trueſt peace and moſt ſolid joy are to be found; it is a continual feaſt of contentment on earth, and the means of attaining everlaſting happineſs in heaven.

CHAP. II. Of HONESTY.

Honeſty is a virtue beloved by good men, and pretended to by all other perſons. In this there are ſeveral degrees: to pay every man his own is the common law of honeſty; but to do good to all mankind, is the chancery law of honeſty; and this chancery court is in every man's breaſt, where his conſcience is a Lord Chancellor. Hence it is, that a miſer, though he pays every body their own, cannot be a honeſt man, when he does not diſcharge the good offices that are incumbent on a friendly, kind, and generous perſon: for, ſaith the prophet Iſaiah, chap. xxxii. ver. 7, 8. "The inſtruments of a churl are evil: he deviſeth wicked devices to deſtroy the poor with lying words, even when the needy ſpeaketh right. But the liberal ſoul deviſeth liberal things, and by liberal things ſhall he ſtand." It is certainly honeſty to do every thing the law requires; but ſhould we throw every poor debtor into priſon till he has paid the utmoſt farthing, hang every male-

factor without mercy, exact the penalty of every bond, and the forfeiture of every indenture, this would be downright cruelty, and not honesty: and it is contrary to that general rule, "To do to another, that which you would have done unto you." Sometimes neceſſity makes an honeſt man a knave; and a rich man a honeſt man, becauſe he has no occaſion to be a knave. The trial of honeſty is this: Did you ever want bread, and had your neighbour's loaf in keeping, and would ſtarve rather than eat it? Were you ever arreſted, having in your cuſtody another man's caſh, and would rather go to gaol, than break it? if ſo, this indeed may be reckoned honeſty. For King Solomon tells us, "That a good name is better than life, and is a precious ointment, and which, when a man has once loſt, he has nothing left worth keeping."

CHAP. III. *Of the preſent ſtate of Religion in the world.*

I doubt, indeed, there is much more devotion than religion in the world, more adoration than ſupplication, and more hypocriſy than ſincerity; and it is very melancholy to conſider, what numbers of people there are furniſhed with the powers of reaſon and gifts of nature, and yet abandoned to the groſſeſt ignorance and depravity. But it would be uncharitable for us to imagine (as ſome Papiſts, abounding with too much ill nature, the only ſcandal to religion, do) that they will certainly be in the ſtate of damnation after this life; for how can we think it inconſiſtent with the mercy and goodneſs of an infinite Being, to damn thoſe creatures, when he has not furniſhed them with the light of his goſpel? or how can ſuch proud, conceited, and cruel bigots, preſcribe rules to the juſtice and mercy of God?

We are told by ſome people, that the great image which King Nebuchadnezzar ſet up to be adored by his people, held the repreſentation of the ſun in its right hand, as the principal object of adoration. But to wave this diſcourſe of Heathen, how many ſelf-contradicting principles are there held among Chriſtians? and how do we doom one another to the devil, while all profeſs to worſhip the ſame Deity, and to expect the ſame ſalvation?

When I was at Portugal, there was held at that time the court of juſtice of the Inquiſition. All the criminals were carried in proceſſion to the great church, where eight

of them were habited in gowns and caps of canvas, whereon the torments of hell were diſplayed, and they were condemned and burnt for crimes againſt the Catholic faith and Bleſſed Virgin.

I am ſorry to make any reflection upon Chriſtians; but, indeed, in Italy the Roman religion ſeems the moſt cruel and mercenary upon earth; and a very judicious perſon, who travelled through Italy from Turkey, tells, "That "there is only the face and outward pomp of religion "there: that the church protects murderers and aſſaſſins; "and then delivers the civil magiſtrates over to Satan for "doing juſtice; interdicts whole kingdoms, and ſhuts up "the churches for want of paying a few eccleſiaſtical dues, "and ſo puts a ſtop to religion for want of their money: "that the court of Inquiſition burnt two men for ſpeaking "diſhonourably of the Bleſſed Virgin; and the miſſiona-"ries of China tolerated the worſhipping the devil by "their new converts: that Italy was the theatre, where re-"ligion was the grand opera; and that the Popiſh clergy "were no other than the ſtage-players."

As to religion in Poland, they deny Chriſt to be the Meſſiah, or that the Meſſiah has come in the fleſh. And as to their Proteſtants, they are the followers of Lælius Socinus, who denied our Saviour's divinity; and have no concern about the divine inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt.

In Muſcovy their churches are built of wood, and, indeed, they have but wooden prieſts, though of the Greek church; they pray as much to St. Nicholas, as the Papiſts do to the Virgin Mary, for protection in all their difficulties or afflictions.

As to Lutherans, they only differ from the Romans in believing conſubſtantiation, inſtead of tranſubſtantiation; but, like them, they are much pleaſed with the external gallantry and pomp, more than the true and real practice of it.

In France I found a world of prieſts, the ſtreets every where crowded with them, and the churches full of women: but ſurely never was a nation ſo full of blind guides, ſo ignorant of religion, and even as void of morals, as thoſe people who confeſs their ſins to them.

Does it not ſeem ſtrange, that, while all men own the Divine Being, there ſhould be ſo many different opinions as to the manner of paying him obedience in the Chriſtian

church? I know not what reaſon to aſſign for this, except it be their different capacities and faculties.

And, indeed, upon this account, we have perceived, in all Chriſtian countries, what mortal feuds have been about religion; what wars and bloodſhed have moleſted Europe, till the general pacification of the German troubles at the treaty of Weſtphalia; and ſince thoſe times, what perſecution in the ſame country among the churches of the Lutherans; and ſhould I take a proſpect at home, what unhappy diviſions are between Chriſtians in this kingdom, about Epiſcopacy and and Preſbytery, the church of Englandmen and the Diſſenters oppoſing one another like St. Paul and St. Peter, even to the face; that is, they carry on the diſpute to the utmoſt extremity.

It might be a queſtion, why there are ſuch differences in religious points, and why theſe breaches ſhould be more hot and irreconcileable? All the anſwer I can give to this, is, that we inquire more concerning the truth of religion, than any other nation in the world; and the anxious concern we have about it, makes us jealous of every opinion, and tenacious of our own; and this is not becauſe we are more furious and raſh than other people; but the truth is, we are more concerned about them, and being ſenſible that the ſcripture is the great rule of faith, the ſtandard for life and doctrine, we have recourſe to it ourſelves, without ſubmitting to any pretended infallible judge upon earth.

There is another queſtion, pertinent to the former, and that is What remedy can we apply to this malady? And to this I muſt negatively anſwer, Not to be leſs religious, that we may differ the leſs. This is ſtriking at the very root of all religious differences; for, certainly, were they to be carried on with a peaceable ſpirit, willing to be informed, our variety of opinions would not have the name of differences; nor ſhould we ſeparate in communion of charity, though we did not agree in ſeveral articles of religion.

Nor is there a leſs uſeful queſtion to ſtart, namely, Where will our unhappy religious differences end? To which, I hope, I may anſwer, in Heaven; there all unchriſtian and unbrotherly differences will find a period; there we ſhall embrace many a ſinner, that here we think it a diſhonour to converſe with; and perceive many a heart we have broken here with cenſures, reproachings, and revilings, made whole again by the balm of the ſame Redeemer's blood. Here we ſhall perceive there have been other flocks than

thoſe of our fold; that thoſe we have excommunicated have been taken into that ſuperior communion; and, in a word, that thoſe contradicting notions and principles which we thought inconſiſtent with true religion, we ſhall then find reconcileable to themſelves, to one another, and to the fountain of truth. If any man aſk me, Why our differences cannot be ended on earth? I anſwer, Were we all thoroughly convinced, that then they would be reconciled, we would put an end to them before; but this is impoſſible to be done; for as men's certain convictions of truth are not equal to one another, or the weight or ſignificancy of ſuch veracity; ſo neither can a general effect of this affair be expected on this ſide of time.

Before I conclude this chapter, I ſhall beg leave to diſcourſe a little of the wonderful excellency of negative religion and negative virtue. The latter ſets out, like the Phariſee, with, God, I thank thee; it is a piece of religious pageantry, the hypocrite's hope: and, in a word, it is poſitive vice; for it is either a maſk to deceive others, or a miſt to deceive ourſelves. A man that is clothed with negatives, thus argues: I am not ſuch a drunkard as my landlord, ſuch a thief as my tenant, ſuch a ſwearer as his neighbour; neither am I a cheat, an athieſt, a rakiſh fellow, or a highwayman; no! I live a ſober, regular, retired life: I am a good man, I go to church; God, I thank thee. Now, though a man boaſts of his virtue in contradiction to the vices mentioned, yet a perſon had better have them altogether than the man himſelf; for he is ſo full of himſelf, ſo perſuaded that he is good and religious enough already, that he has no thoughts of any thing, except it be to pull off his hat to God Almighty now and then, and thank him that he has no occaſion for him; and has the vanity to think that his neighbours muſt imagine well of him too.

The negative man, though he is no drunkard, is yet intoxicated with the pride of his own worth; a good neighbour and peace-maker in other families, but a tyrant in his own; appears in church for a ſhow, but never falls upon his knees in his cloſet; does all his alms before men, to be ſeen of them; eager in the duties of the ſecond table, but regardleſs of the firſt; appears religious, to be taken notice of by men, but without intercourſe or communication between God and his own ſoul: Pray, what is this man? or what comfort is there of the life he lives? he is inſenſi-

ſible of faith, repentance, and a Chriſtian mortified life; in a word, he is perfectly a ſtranger to the eſſential part of religion.

Let us for a while enter into the private and retired part of his converſation: What notions has he of his miſſpent hours, and of the progreſs of time to the great centre and gulph of life, eternity? Does he know how to put a right value on time, or eſteem the life-blood of his ſoul, as it really is, and act in all the moments of it, as one that muſt account for them? if then you can form an equality between what he can do, and what he ſhall receive; leſs can be founded upon his negative virtue, or what he has forborn to do: And if neither his negative nor poſitive piety can be equal to the reward, and to the eternity that reward is to laſt for, what then is to become of the Phariſee, when he is to be judged by the ſincerity of his repentance, and rewarded, according to the infinite grace of God, with a ſtate of bleſſedneſs to an endleſs eternity?

When the negative man converſes with the inviſible world, he is filled with as much horror and dread as Felix, when St. Paul reaſoned to him of temperance, righteouſneſs, and of judgment to come; for Felix, though a great philoſopher, of great power and reverence, was a negative man, and he was made ſenſible by the Apoſtle, that, as a life of virtue and temperance was its own reward, by giving a healthy body, a clear head, and a compoſed life; ſo eternal happineſs muſt proceed from another ſpring; namely, the infinite unbounded grace of a provoked God, who having erected a righteous tribunal, Jeſus Chriſt would ſeparate ſuch as by faith and repentance he had brought home and united to himſelf by the grace of adoption, and on the foot of his having laid down his life as a ranſom for them, had appointed them to ſalvation, when all the philoſophy, temperance, and righteouſneſs in the world beſides had been ineffectual. And this, I ſay, it was, that made Felix, this negative man, tremble.

CHAP. IV. *Of liſtening to the voice of Providence.*

The magnificent and wiſe king Solomon bids us cry after knowledge, and lift up our voice for underſtanding; by which is meant, religious knowledge; for it follows: "Then ſhalt thou underſtand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God." By which undoubted-

ly he meant, to inquire after every thing he has permitted us to know, and not to ſearch into thoſe ways that are unſearchable, and are effectually locked up from our knowledge.—Now, "as liſtening to the voice of Providence" is my preſent ſubject, I intend, in the firſt place, to write to thoſe who own, 1. That there is a God, a firſt great moving cauſe of all things, and eternal power, prior, and conſequently ſuperior to all created power or being.—2. That this eternal power, which is God, is the ſovereign creator and governor of heaven and earth.

To avoid all needleſs diſtinctions, what perſons in the Godhead exerciſe the creating, and what the governing power, I offer that glorious text, *Pſal.* xxxiii. 6. where the whole Trinity is entitled to the whole creating work: and therefore, in the next place, I ſhall lay down theſe two propoſitions.

I. That the eternal God guides, by his providence, the whole univerſe, which was created by his power.

II. That this providence manifeſts a particular care over, and concern in, the governing and directing man, the moſt noble creature upon earth.

It is plain, that natural religion proves the firſt, by intimating the neceſſity of a providence guiding and governing the world, from the conſequence of the wiſdom, juſtice, preſcience, and goodneſs of the Almighty Creator; for otherwiſe it would be abſurd to think, that God ſhould create a world, without any care or providence over it, in guiding the operations of nature, ſo as to preſerve the order of his creation.

Revealed religion gives us a light into the care and concern of his providence, by the climate's being made habitable, the creatures ſubjected and made nouriſhing, and all vegetative life made medicinal; and all this for the ſake of man, who is made viceroy to the King of the earth. The ſhort deſcription I ſhall give of providence is this: "That it is that operation of the power, of the wiſdom, juſtice, and goodneſs of God, by which he influences, governs, and directs, not only the means, but the events of all things, which concern us in this ſublunary world; the ſovereignty of which we ought always to reverence, obey its motions, obſerve its dictates, and liſten to its voice. The prudent man foreſeeth the evil, and hideth himſelf; that is, as I take it, there is a ſecret providence intimates to us, that ſome danger threatens, if we ſtrive not to ſhun it."

The ſame day that Sir John Hotham kept out Hull againſt the royal martyr King Charles I. the ſame day Sir John Hotham was put to death by the parliament for that very action: The ſame day that the King himſelf ſigned the warrant for the execution of the Earl of Stafford, the ſame day of the month was he barbarouſly murdered by the blood thirſty Oliverian crew: and the ſame day that King James II. came to the crown againſt the bill of excluſion, the ſame day he was voted abdicated by the parliament, and the throne filled with King William and Queen Mary.

The voice of ſignal deliverances from ſudden dangers, is not only a juſt call to repentance, but a caution againſt falling into the like danger; but ſuch who are utterly careleſs of themſelves after, ſhew a lethargy of the worſt nature, which ſeems to me to be a kind of practical atheiſm, or at leaſt a living in a contempt of Heaven, when he receives good at the hand of his Maker, but is unconcerned from whence it comes, or to thank the bountiful hand that gave it; neither, when he receives evil, does it alter his manner of life, or bring him to any ſtate of humiliation.

We have a remarkable ſtory of two ſoldiers being condemned to death in Flanders. The general being prevailed upon to ſpare one of them, ordered them to caſt dice upon the drum head for their lives; the firſt having thrown two ſixes, the ſecond fell a wringing his hands, having ſo poor a chance to eſcape; however, having thrown, he was ſurpriſed when he alſo threw other two ſixes. The officer, appointed to ſee the execution, ordered them to throw again; they did ſo, and each of them threw fives; at which the ſoldiers that ſtood round, ſhouted, and ſaid neither of them was to die. Upon this, the officer acquainted the council of war, who ordered them to throw a third time, when they threw two fours: the general being acquainted with it, ſent for the men, and pardoned them: I love, ſaid he, in ſuch extraordinary caſes, to liſten to the voice of providence.

We read in the holy writings, how God ſpeaks to men by appearance of angels, or by dreams and viſions of the night. As God appeared to Abraham, Lot, and Jacob: ſo angels have appeared to many in other caſes, as to Manoah and his wife, Zechariah, the Virgin Mary, and to the apoſtles; others have been warned in a dream, as king Abimelech, the falſe prophet Balaam, and many others.

It is certainly a very great and noble inquiry, "What we ſhall be after this life?" for there is ſcarce a doubt, that there is a place reſerved for the reception of our ſouls after death: for if we are to be, we muſt have a where, which the ſcriptures aſſert by the examples of Dives and Lazarus. The doctrine of ſpirits was long believed before our Saviour's time; for when the diſciples of the bleſſed Jeſus perceived our Saviour walking on the ſea, they were as much ſurpriſed as though they had ſeen a ſpirit. Nay, in thoſe ages of the world, it was believed that ſpirits intermeddled in the affairs of mankind; and, throughout the Old Teſtament, I do not find any thing that in the leaſt contradicts it. All the pains and labour that ſome learned men have taken, to confute the ſtory of the witch of Endor, and the appearance of an old man perſonating Samuel, cannot make ſuch apparitions inconſiſtent with nature or religion; and it is plain, that it was either a good or bad ſpirit, that prophetically told the unfortunate king what ſhould happen the next day; for, ſaid the ſpirit, "The "Lord will deliver thee into the hands of the Philiſtines; "and to-morrow ſhalt thou and thy ſons be with me."

Abundance of ſtrange notions poſſeſſed me, when I was in the deſolate iſland; eſpecially on a moonſhine night, when every buſh ſeemed a man, and every tree a man on horſeback. When I crept into the diſmal cave where the old goat lay expiring, whoſe articulate groans even reſembled thoſe of a man, how was I ſurpriſed! my blood chilled in my veins, a cold ſweaty dew ſat on my forehead, my hair ſtood upright, and my joints, like Balſhazzer's knees, ſtruck againſt one another. And, indeed, though I afterwards found what it was, the remains of this ſurpriſe did not wear off for a great while; and I had frequently returns of thoſe vapours on different occaſions, and ſometimes without any occaſion at all.

One night, after having ſeen ſome appearance in the air, as I had juſt lain down in my bed, one of my feet pained me; after that came a numbneſs, ſucceeded with a tingling in my blood; when on a ſudden I thought ſomething alive lay upon me, from my knee to above half my leg. Upon this I flung myſelf out of bed where I thought the creature lay; but finding nothing, "Lord deliver me from an evil ſpirit," ſaid I, "what can this be?" When I lighted a candle, I could perceive no living creature in the place with me, but the poor parrot, who being frighted, cried

out, "Hold your tongue," and, "What's the matter with you?" which words I had taught him, by ſaying ſo to him, when he made ſuch ſcreaming noiſes as I did not like. "Lord," ſaid I aloud, "ſurely the devil has been here." "Hold your tongue," ſays Poll. I was then mad at the bird, and putting on my clothes, cried, "I am terribly frighted," "What's the matter with you?" ſays Poll. "You toad," ſaid I, "I'll knock your brains out." "Hold your tongue," cried he again, and ſo fell a chattering, and calling Robinſon Cruſoe, as he did before. But, after I had compoſed myſelf, and went to bed again, I began plainly to ſee it was a diſtemper that affected my nerves, and ſo my terrors vaniſhed at once.

How intelligences are given or received, we do not know; nor are we ſenſible how they are conveyed from ſpirits embodied, to ours that are in life; or, on the contrary, from us to them; the latter certainly is done without the help of the organs, and the former is conveyed by the underſtanding, and the retired faculties of the ſoul.

The ſpirits, without the help of voices, converſe, and the more particular diſcoveries of converſe of the ſpirits, ſeem to me as follow: to wit, dreams, voices, noiſes, impulſes, hints, apprehenſions, involuntary ſadneſs, &c.

Dreams of old were the ways by which God himſelf was pleaſed to warn men what ſervices to perform, and what to ſhun. Joſeph was directed of God in a dream to go to Egypt; and ſo were the wiſe men warned in a dream to depart into their own country another way, to avoid the fury of Herod. I am not like thoſe who think dreams are the mere doſings of a delirious head, or the relics of a day's perplexities or pleaſures; but, on the contrary, I muſt beg leave to ſay, I never met with any capital miſchief in my life, but I had ſome notice of it by a dream; and, had I not been a thoughtleſs unbelieving creature, I might have taken many a warning, and avoided many of the evils I afterwards fell into, merely by total neglect of thoſe dreams.

I was once preſent at a diſpute between a layman and a clergyman, upon the ſubject of dreams. The firſt thought no regard ſhould be given unto them; that their communication from the inviſible to the viſible world was a mere chimera; without any ſolid foundation. For, firſt, ſaid he, If dreams were from the agency of any preſcient being, the motives would be more direct, and the diſcoveries more

plain, and not by allegories and emblematic fancies, expreſſing things imperfect and obſcure. 2. Since, with the notice of evil, there was not a power given to avoid it, it is not likely to proceed from a ſpirit, but merely fortuitous. 3. That the inconſtancy of ſuch notices, in caſes equally important, proves they did not proceed from any ſuch agent. 4. That as our moſt diſtinct dreams had nothing in them of any ſignificancy, it would be irrational and vain to think that they came from heaven. And, 5. That as men were not always thus warned or ſupplied with notice of good or evil, ſo all men are not alike ſupplied with them; and what reaſon could we give, why one man or one woman ſhould not have the ſame hints as another?

To all this the clergyman gave anſwer; 1. That as to the ſignification of dreams, and the objections againſt them, as being dark and doubtful, they are expreſſed generally by hierogliphical repreſentations, ſimilies, alluſions, and figurative emblematic ways, by which means, for want of interpretation, the thing was not underſtood, and, conſequently, the evil not ſhunned. 2. That we charge God fooliſhly, to ſay, that he has given the notice of evil, without the power to avoid it; for, if any one had not power to avoid the evil, it was no notice to him; and it was want of giving due heed to that notice, that men firſt neglected themſelves, and then charged the Judge of all the earth with injuſtice. 3. That we ought not to find fault with the inconſtancy of theſe notices; but rather with our weak underſtandings, by pretending dreams were not to be regarded, and negligent when the voice really ſpoke to us for our good. It is a miſtake to ſay, dreams have no import at all: we might, with more reaſon, have ſaid, none that we could perceive the reaſon of, owing to our blindneſs and ſupine negligence, too ſecure at one time, and too much alarmed at another; ſo that the ſpirit, which we might be ſaid to be converſing with in a dream, was conſtantly and equally kind and careful; but our powers are not always in the ſame ſtate of action, not equally attentive to, or retentive of the hints that were given. And, 5. To anſwer the laſt queſtion, Why people are not equally ſupplied? This ſeemed to be no queſtion; for Providence itſelf might have ſome ſhare in the direction of it, and then that Providence might be limited by a ſuperior direction; that as to the converſe of ſpirits, he could not call it a ſtated converſe: ſuch a thing there was, but why

there was ſo much of it, and no more, was none of his buſineſs, and that no ſuch diſcovery, had ever yet been made to mankind. Nor were we to imagine leſs of waking dreams, trances, viſions, noiſes, hints, impulſes, and all the waking teſtimonies of an inviſible world, and of the communication that there is between us and them, which commonly entertain us with our eyes open.

One time my fancy ſoared on high, to ſee what diſcoveries I could make in thoſe clearer regions. I found that ſuch immenſe bodies as the ſun, ſtars, planets, and moon, in the great circle of the lower heaven, are far from being found in the ſtudy of nature on the ſurface of the earth. Here I ſaw many things that we can entertain little or no notion of, in a ſtate of common life, and the emptineſs of our notion, that the planets are habitable worlds; that is, created like ours, for the ſubſiſtence and exiſtence of man and beaſt, and the preſervation of the vegetative and ſenſitive life: No, no, this is I aſſure you, a world of ſpirits; for here I ſaw a clear demonſtration of Satan being the *prince of the power of the air*, keeping his court or camp, with innumerable angels to attend him; but his power is not ſo great as we imagine, he can tempt us to the crime, but cannot force us to commit: *Humanum eſt peccare.* Neither has the devil power to force the world into a rebellion againſt heaven, though his legions are employed among ſavage nations, to ſet up their maſter for a god, who make the heathens either worſhip him in perſon, or by his repreſentatives, idols and monſters, with the cruel ſacrifices of human blood. Now, as to the limitations of the devil's power, you muſt underſtand, that, as there are numbers of evil ſpirits employed in miſchief, ſo there are numbers of good angels ſent from the higher and bleſſed abodes to diſconcert and oppoſe their meaſures; and this every Chriſtian, I hope, believes, when he prays to God, the father of ſpirits, to give his angels charge over him while he ſlumbereth and ſleepeth. For if by theſe preventing powers the devil was not reſtrained, the earth would be ſubjected to dearth, droughts, and famine; the air infected with noxious fumes; and, in a word, mankind would be utterly deſtroyed, which might oblige our maker (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) to the neceſſity of a new *fiat*, or elſe have no more creatures to honour and worſhip him.

As the devil never wanted inſinuators, I ſhall obſerve, that I learned a way how to make a man dream of what I

pleaſed. For inſtance, let us ſuppoſe one to be found aſleep; let another lay his mouth cloſe to his ear, and whiſper any thing ſo ſoftly as not to awake him, the ſleeping man ſhall dream of what has been ſo whiſpered in his ear; nay, I can aſſure you, thoſe inſinuating devils can do this even when we are awake, which I call impulſes of the mind: for from whence, but from theſe inſinuators, come our cauſeleſs paſſions, involuntary wickedneſs, or ſinful deſires? Who elſe form ideas in the mind of man when he is aſleep, or preſent terrible or beautiful figures to his fancy? Mr. Milton repreſents the devil tempting Eve in the ſhape of a toad, lying juſt at her ear, when in her bower ſhe lay faſt aſleep; and brings in Eve telling Adam what an uneaſy night's reſt ſhe had, and relating her dream to him. And likewiſe I believe that good ſpirits have the ſame intercourſe with us, in warning us againſt thoſe things that are evil, and prompting us to that which is good.

Were we to have the eyes of our ſouls opened, through the eyes of our bodies, we ſhould ſee this very immediate region of air which we breathe in, thronged with ſpirits now inviſible, and which otherwiſe would be the moſt terrible: we ſhould view the ſecret tranſactions of thoſe meſſengers who are employed when the parting ſoul takes its leave of the reluctant body, and perhaps ſee things nature would ſhrink back from with the utmoſt terror and amazement. In a word, the curtain of providence for the diſpoſition of things here, and the curtain of judgment for the determination of the ſtate of ſouls hereafter, would be alike drawn back; and what heart could ſupport here its future ſtate in life; much leſs that of its future ſtate after life, even good or bad.

A gentleman of my acquaintance, being about ſeven miles diſtant from London, a friend that came to dine with him, ſolicited him to go to the city. "What," ſaid the gentleman, "is there any occaſion for me?" "No, Sir," ſaid the other, "nothing at all, except the enjoyment of your good company:" and ſo gave over importuning him. Juſt then a ſtrong impulſe of mind urged the gentleman, and purſued him like a voice, with, "Go to London, Go to London." "Hark ye," ſays he to his friend, "is all well at London? Am I wanted there? Or, did you aſk me to go with you on any particular account? Are all my family well?" "Yes, indeed, Sir," ſaid he, "I perceived them all very hearty; and I did not aſk you to go

to London upon any particular account whatſoever, except it was for the ſake of your good company." Again he put off his reſolution: but ſtill the impulſe ſuggeſted to him, "Go to London;" and at length he did ſo. When he came there, he found a letter and meſſenger had been there to ſeek him, and to tell him of a particular buſineſs, which was firſt and laſt above a thouſand pounds to him, and which might inevitably have been loſt, had he not gone to London that night.

The obeying of ſeveral hints, or ſecret impulſes argues great wiſdom. I knew a man that was under misfortunes, being guilty of miſdemeanors againſt the government; when, abſconding for fear of his ruin, all his friends adviſing him not to put himſelf in the hands of the law, one morning as he awaked, he felt a ſtrong impulſe darting into his mind thus, "Write a letter to them;" and this was repeated ſeveral times to his mind, and at laſt he anſwered to it, as if it had been a voice, "Whom ſhall I write to?" Immediately it replied, "Write to the judge:" and this impulſe purſued him for ſeveral days, till at length he took pen, and ink, and paper, and ſat down to write to him: when immediately words flowed from his pen, like ſtreams from a fair fountain, that charmed even himſelf with hopes of ſucceſs. In ſhort, the letter was ſo ſtrenuous in argument, ſo pathetic in its eloquence, and ſo perſuaſively moving, that when the judge had read it, he ſent him an anſwer he might be eaſy, he would endeavour to make that matter light to him; and, indeed, never left exerting himſelf, till he had ſtopt the proſecution, and reſtored him to his liberty and family.

While I am mentioning theſe things, methinks it is very hard, that we ſhould obey the whiſpers of evil ſpirits, and not much rather receive the notices which good ones are pleaſed to give. We never perceive the misfortune of this, but when in real danger; and then we cry, "My mind miſgave me when I was going about it:" but if ſo, why do you ſlight the caution? Why not liſten to it "as to a voice? and then there had been no reaſon to make this complaint.

I remember about fourteen or fifteen years ago (as to time I cannot be very poſitive) there was a young clergyman in the city of Dublin, in Ireland, who dreamed a very uncommon dream, That a gentleman had killed his wife, a relation of his, by ſtabbing her in ſeveral places;

the fright of this awaked him, but finding it a dream, he compoſed himſelf again to ſleep, when he dreamed a ſecond time the ſame dream. This made him a little uneaſy; but thinking it proceeded from the impreſſion made on his mind by the former, he went to ſleep again, and dreamed the ſame dream a third time alſo. So troubled was he at this, that he aroſe, and knocked at his mother's chamber, told his concern, and his apprehenſions that all was not right at his relation's houſe. "Dear ſon," ſays the good old gentlewoman, "do not mind theſe fooliſh dreams; and I very much wonder, that you, being a perſon in holy orders, ſhould have regard to ſuch alluſions. Upon this he went to bed again, fell aſleep, and dreamed a fourth time as before. And then indeed he put on his night-gown, and went to Smithfield, the place where his relation dwelt. Here it was, alas! he perceived his dream too ſadly fulfilled, by ſeeing his relation, the young lady, big with child, who was a Proteſtant, ſtabbed in ſeven places, by her barbarous huſband, Mr. Euſtace, a violent Papiſt, only for ſome diſcourſes of religion that happened the day before. After the wretch had ſtabbed her in three places, he went to make his eſcape out at a window; but ſhe cried out, "My dear! don't leave me, come back, and I ſhall be well again." At which he returned in a helliſh rage, and gave her four wounds more; when, even in this condition, riſing from her bed, ſhe wrapped herſelf in her night-gown, and went to the Lord Biſhop of Rapho's chamber-door (the biſhop lodging at that time in the houſe) "My Lord," ſaid ſhe, "O my Lord, make haſte unto me:" but as ſoon as his Lordſhip came ſhe expired in his arms, reſigning her precious ſoul into the hands of Almighty God. The cruel wretch her huſband was ſhot by the purſuers, too good a death for one who deſerved the gibbet: and the lady was univerſally lamented by all tender and religious people. And this tragical relation I have mentioned, upon the account of that impulſe, or dream, that the clergyman had at the fatal time of the bloody action.

Some people make a very ill uſe of the general notion, that there are no apparitions nor ſpirits at all: which is worſe than thoſe who fancy they ſee them upon every occaſion; for thoſe carry their notions farther, even to annihilate the devil, and believe nothing about him, neither

of one kind or other: the next ſtep they come to, is to conclude, "There is no God," and ſo atheiſm takes its riſe in the ſame ſink, with a carleſſneſs about futurity. But there is no occaſion to enter upon an argument to prove the being of the Almighty, or to illuſtrate his power by words, who has ſo many undeniable teſtimonies in the breaſts of every rational being to prove his exiſtence: and we have ſufficient proofs enough to convince us of the great ſuperintendency of divine Providence in the minuteſt affairs of this world; the manifeſt exiſtence of the inviſible world; the reality of ſpirits, and intelligence between us and them. What I have ſaid, I hope, will not miſlead any perſon, or be a means whereby they may delude themſelves; for I have ſpoken of theſe things with the utmoſt ſerioufneſs of mind, and with a ſincere and ardent deſire for the general good and benefit of the world.

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